

WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY.

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BREAKING THE WAY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

Vol. 5.—No. 30.—Whole No. 108.

NEW YORK, JUNE 8, 1872.

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AND

Warsaw Railway

Second Mortgage Convertible 7 Per

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Interest Warrants Pay-

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Surplus, \$300,272 95.

Safe and Profitable,
THE
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FIRST MORTGAGE SINKING FUND, THIRTY YEARS

7 per cent. Gold Bonds.

AT
90 and Accrued Interest.

The Road runs from Buffalo to the Detroit River, and is the Eastern link in the new

Air Line from BUFFALO to CHICAGO,

and has been under construction for about two years past by railroad men who have seen the necessity for a

Steel Rail, Low Grade Short Route
between the great railroad systems which diverge from

CHICAGO, TOLEDO AND BUFFALO.

Among the builders of the road, by whose cash subscriptions 200 miles (out of 290) have already been graded, bridged, and made ready for the superstructure, a large part of the steel rails bought, all of the materials for the stations and a part of the equipment purchased, are:

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The road will be

33 Miles Shorter than any
Other Road.

either built or in contemplation between Buffalo and Chicago, and will also shorten the distance between Toledo and Buffalo 23 miles.

THE MAXIMUM GRADE on the entire line does not exceed fifteen feet to the mile—and Ninety-six per cent. of the road is STRAIGHT.

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We confidently recommend the bonds to all classes of investors.

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A Liberal Sinking Fund provided in the Mortgage Deed must advance the price upon the closing of the loan. Principal and interest payable in GOLD. Interest at eight (8) per cent. per annum. Payable, semi-annually, free of tax. Principal in thirty years. Denominations, \$1,000, \$500 and \$100 Coupons or Registered.

Price 97 1-2 and accrued interest, in currency, from February 15, 1872.

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Issue Letters of Credit to Travelers, available in all parts of the world, through the

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INTEREST PAYABLE QUARTERLY IN NEW YORK,
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The issue is limited to \$16,300 per mile, in denominations of \$1,000, \$500 and \$100.

This Road, 92 miles long, affords the shortest existing outlet to Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Logansport, and intermediate points for the celebrated Block and Bituminous Coal of Parks County, as, also, for the large surplus products of the rich agricultural and mineral sections of the State which it traverses.

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SOLUTION & COMPOUND ELIXIR
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TAR

FIRST AND ONLY SOLUTION ever made in one mixture of **ALL THE TWELVE** valuable active principals of the well known curative agent,

PINE TREE TAR, UNEQUALED in Coughs, Colds, Catarrh, Asthma, Bronchitis, and consumption.

CURES WITHOUT FAIL

A recent cold in three to six hours; and also, by its VITALISING, PURIFYING and STIMULATING effects upon the general system, is remarkably efficacious in all

DISEASES OF THE BLOOD. including Scrofula and Eruptions of the skin, Dyspepsia, Diseases of the Liver and Kidneys, Heart Disease, and General Debility.

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and LUNGS.** THE COMPOUND

Tar and Mandrake Pill. for use in connection with the ELIXIR TAR, is a combination of the TWO most valuable ALTERNATIVE Medicines known in the Profession, and renders this Pill without exception the very best ever offered. The SOLUTION and COMPOUND ELIXIR of

TAR

is without doubt the Best remedy known in cases of

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER.

It is a Specific for such diseases, and should be kept in the household of every family, especially during those months in which

CHOLERA AND YELLOW FEVER

are liable to prevail. A small quantity taken daily will prevent contracting these terrible diseases.

Solution and Compound Elixir, \$1.00 per Bottle Volatile Solution for Inhalation, \$5.00 per Box Tar and Mandrake Pills, 50cts per box.

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6-18

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BY HIS BROTHER—JAMES C. SYLVIS,

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THE WOMAN QUESTION IN A NEW LIGHT.

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**"WOMAN, AND HER RELATIONS TO TEMPER-
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Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Gen. Jordan, of Pennsylvania, says:

"I had the pleasure of canvassing with Leo Miller, Esq., in New Jersey, and I most cordially recommend him to our friends in your State as a gentleman of rare talent and character and a most effective and eloquent speaker."

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The Principles of Government, by Victoria C. Woodhull;	\$3 00
Constitutional Equality, by Tennie C. Claflin;	2 50
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The Great Social Problem of Labor and Capital, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
The Principles of Finance, speech by Victoria C. Woodhull;	
Practical View of Political Equality, speech by Tennie C. Claflin;	
Majority and Minority Report of the Judiciary Committee on the Woodhull Memorial;	
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Each per copy;	10
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The Principles of Social Freedom;	25
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POST OFFICE NOTICE.

The mails for Europe during the week ending Saturday, June 8, 1872, will close at this office on Wednesday at 12 m., on Thursday at 11 a. m., and on Saturday at 4 and 11 a. m.

P. H. JONES, Postmaster.

MRS. A. M. MIDDLEBROOK.

Recently we gave our readers some account of this talented lady whom we are able to count among our most respected friends. She is open to engagements to speak upon any subject of general interest—religious, political or social—anywhere in the States east of the Mississippi River. Terms, \$75 and expenses. We take pleasure in recommending her to our friends, as one of the most profitable as well as entertaining speakers in the field. Her address is box 778 Bridgeport, Conn.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

All persons desiring to become members of, or to form sections, and trades unions or societies wishing to affiliate with the International Workingmen's Association, can procure all the necessary information and documents by addressing the regular officers of the Federal Council of North America, as follows:

English Corresponding Secretary, John T. Elliot, 208 Fifth street, New York.

German Corresponding Secretary, Franc S. Bertrand, 214½ Broome street, New York.

French Corresponding Secretary, B. Laugrand, 335 Fourth avenue, New York.

Spanish Corresponding Secretary, Majin Janer, 112 Lexington avenue, Brooklyn.

Italian Corresponding Secretary, Antonio Brumi, 621 East Twelfth street, New York.

COMMUNISM AT HOPEDALE.

BY A. GAYLORD SPALDING.

The Hopedale Community was organized at Milford, Massachusetts, in 1842, and existed sixteen years. Its chief theorizer and leading organizer was Adin Ballou, aided financially by E. D. Draper.

This community was a religious movement, and the outgrowth of a cherished desire on the part of many honest and kind hearted persons to establish such an improved system of society as would avoid the prevalent evils of poverty, ignorance, vice and crime. That they did not succeed in building up a permanent institution of that sort, was not for the lack of determined purpose and a well settled plan. No higher, worthier, or more intelligent body of men and women ever joined together for any cause.

Well trained practical minds, they had every reason to expect good results. Individually they were the kind to prosper in any undertaking; hence they hoped for much greater and better things by uniting their means and energies. Between two and three hundred persons held in joint and common stock, and individual ownership, sufficient property, consisting of land, manufacturing stock, implements and machinery, to employ the strength, skill and taste of each and all. And they were remarkably industrious to develop and complete the comforts, conveniences and beauties which the plan contemplated. A few years proved what muscle and pluck, guided by a noble aim would do. The Community grew in external attraction, and became favorably known abroad. But in the incipiency of such a complex undertaking, as might have been anticipated, there was much rough and hard work, and friction in running the social machinery. Yet the more enthusiastic members believed these unpleasant things would be overcome

and outgrown, and the ship would then sail on in the smooth open sea of calmness and triumph. It was reasonable thus to hope.

The marked features of the Hopedale Community were its religious element, its reformatory principle, and its plan of promulgatory work. The essence of Christian principle—truth, love, justice, and human brotherhood—was first to be illustrated at home, in business and a more perfect social order, and then introduced to the world by means of the voice, the pen, and the press. Here was a chance for every grade of talent to do the best things in any branch of reform, or in all branches—anti-slavery, anti-war, anti-gallows, temperance, woman's rights, education, and social reconstruction. And a commendable activity was infused and sustained in this direction, which is one of the proudest things to remember on the part of those who participated.

Small in the beginning, this enterprise grew to respectable strength and proportions. Faith and hope were continually inspired. Communism was thought practicable, and would in time become a mighty power in the earth. A republic of communities was zealously talked and written up, and was soon to be projected. But when the scheme began to be a success, a violent storm arose in the social heavens, a cloud of discouragement covered their flattering prospects, and, as a consequence, the brave adventurers came to a stand, and efforts at social reform ceased with them, as had been the case with many others before.

Having been member of that fraternity, I am frequently asked the cause of its failure. There were probably several causes. Pecuniary embarrassment was the main thing alleged. But internal disaffection was no doubt a greater one. Yet by many the disruption was deeply lamented, and they now look back with sincere regret, remembering with lively affection all their numerous congenial fellow associates. They are now dissolved; but their honest efforts may warn or encourage others who are ambitious to practicalize communistic theories.

Principles can never die. Whatever was good in the endeavor of Hopedale still lives, and will ever live. It is for mankind, the toiling millions, to embrace the idea of brotherhood, and unite for self-protection against that which degrades and crushes them. Christian principle and Spiritualism are identical, and demand exemplification in harmonious and peaceful works of brotherly love and humanity. Productive labor is itself a virtue, and has a claim against all capital, monopoly and speculation, and against all professions and aristocracies. Capital, in the hands of non-producers, is a tyrant; and the producer uneducated, like the goaded ox, is a beast of burden and a tool for the selfish uses of those who ride in the pleasure carriages of church and state. Wealth, as such, has no rights, but belongs to the workers who make it. That class is unfortunately ignorant, and accustomed to drudging servility, knowing not even their own simplest right. They are, therefore, easily fooled into the notion that they require a keeper over themselves and their money, which are both constantly absorbed into the vast paraphernalia of the world's bloody armies, its proud, pretentious and burdensome civil governments, and its awful holy, solemn, and costly church system. This all claims to be God-ordained for the protection of mankind in this world, and their salvation in the next! And it will stand until the coming light shows the hollowness and hideousness of such coroding and blatant politics and religion. Let the remedy come through Internationalism, individual sovereignty, or Christian and Spiritual communism.

CHAMPLIN, MINN., April 26, 1872.

THE INFINITE REPUBLIC.

[Continued.]

CHAPTER IX.

THE SYSTEM.

There was no beginning—there will be no end. Infinity is around us. Eternity is before and behind us. There is nothing perfect but infinite perfectibility. There is no supreme spirit but there are infinite degrees of spiritual greatness.

The Infinite—called variously, God, universe, Kosmos, substance, being, idea, and by other names well known to students, signifies spirits without number, and thought without bounds.

A personal God is but one of an infinite spirit world. Each spirit is a God, and is to itself the centre of the Infinite. Matter is the combined result of the creative activity, that is, thought, of the whole spirit world. It is the ever changing relation between spirits of which the essence can never change. Matter exists only in form, spirit in substance.

All the attributes of matter are sensations or ideas to spirit, and without spirit non-existent.

Therefore, matter is, apart from spirit, without attributes; that is, non-existent.

The existence of anything irrespective of sensitive beings is an irrational conception of a useless nonentity.

X.

This is the law, that is, the will of the Infinite spirit-world, to seek happiness and avoid pain. This is the circle without circumference, beyond which nothing exists.

Each spirit is the centre of an universe of thought, and the universe of no two spirits is the same.

No spirit was ever created by another, or came into existence of itself.

Every spirit is eternal, indestructible and indivisible in essence, infinite in potency. Thus the Infinite contains in truth an infinity of Infinites.

The will of each spirit is a part of the destiny of all.

This destiny is but the love of all spirits for happiness and their hatred of pain. Happiness is the harmony of spiritual activities; pain is the discord.

Evil is ignorance, producing discord.

Good is knowledge, insuring harmony.

The ascent from ignorance to knowledge is the eternal progress of spirits.

Thus perfect knowledge, producing perfect happiness, is infinitesimally approached, but can never be attained abso-

lutely, because the Infinite is, in its nature, an inexhaustible study.

Thus all spirits are eternal students of an infinite science.

To conceive absolute perfection as possible of attainment, is tantamount to conceiving a limit to space and time, and all other eternal and infinite forms of thought—in fine, to thought itself, that is to existence; for the idea of its attainment is the idea of spiritual DEATH. Because, nothing being left to desire, activity, that is change, motion, succession of thought, would cease. One eternal idea would paralyze the infinitude of spiritual natures. Complete unity of thought would destroy all distinction of being; for distinction would be imperfection. Thus perfect knowledge would be perfect nothingness—an everlasting void, an unbroken harmony of silence—universal annihilation.

There is but one perfection, and its first attribute is impossibility.

The world was not created; it is forever creating. An infinite multitude of spirits are forever moulding their forms—that is, their mutual relations, to more perfect harmony.

The Infinite is no empire of impotent servility, it is no machine of revolving accuracy, but a republic without frontiers, in which every citizen is an eternal spirit, acquiring for himself an infinite spiritual wealth.

Each spirit separately, and all collectively, are, through eternal changes, fulfilling the aim of their existence.

There is no rest or pause for spiritual ambition. The idiot of to-day may be the prophet of to-morrow. There never was a being utterly evil. Damnation, as opposed to perfection, is the impossible conception of a starting point to the infinite voyage which never had beginning. And, practically, no spirit did ever yet turn back on its journey.

Nothing is true but what is desirable, because all thought is the expression of the united desires of the spirit world.

Hence the grandest, and the most beautiful and the most desirable, is at the same time the truest and the wisest of world-systems, for the will of the citizens is the law of their republic, and that law is eternal perfectability; that is eternal increase of happiness, and diminution of pain.

XI.

Such is the general conception which we may dare to form of the Infinite Republic of Spirits in its sublime progress, its discordant harmony, and eternal perfection of imperfection.

Let us now turn from the contemplation of the All, to the study of the parts, and in the relation of individuals, consider the universal morality.

No spirit can think, act or modify matter without inevitably affecting every other spirit.

There are infinite degrees of pleasure and pain.

The slightest discord provoked by one spirit is a source of pain to all.

The least production of harmony enhances the bliss of infinite existence.

For it is the nature of spirits to reflect pain or happiness.

And this power is called sympathy, and is the necessary and universal relation of all sentient beings.

Hence, every provocation of discord or pain in other spirits, must necessarily increase our own portion of suffering; all production of harmony increases our individual happiness.

In their philosophical sense, self-interest and duty are one.

Ignorance alone causes pain. Knowledge ever conduces to happiness.

Crime is ignorance.

Virtue is knowledge.

That is to say, knowledge of true happiness is the road to its attainment.

There are are two kinds of knowledge.

The certain and instinctive knowledge derived from an eternity of past experience, accumulated in progress from state to state; now dormant, now exerted with scarcely appreciable consciousness or volition. By this knowledge is performed every ordinary vital function which habit and regularly withdraw from attention, until over-neglect in the form of ill-health, recalls the spirit to its material duties.

Health of body and mind which differ only in idea, are dependent upon spiritual sympathy for their preservation in organizations imperfect, as all other works of their infinite inventors.

The second kind of knowledge is the knowledge of immediate human acquisition—uncertain elements of unfixed principles hereafter to be cleared from all doubts and confusions in the eternal memory.

The former knowledge shows itself in man as instinct.

The latter as science.

The former influences man directly by impulse.

The latter indirectly by reflection.

Vulgar selfishness is merely a form of ignorance that the happiness or pain of one influences the happiness or pain of all.

The most important spiritual knowledge, therefore, is love.

The most lamentable spiritual ignorance, hatred.

Love in the form of expanded sympathy and benevolence, is therefore the greatest producer of happiness, both to the spirit imbued with its influence, and to the infinite spirit world.

In its individual application, when the whole power of the spirit is aroused by and concentrated upon a single object, it is beyond question or comparison the nearest conceivable approach to perfect happiness.

On the other hand, Hate, taking its most selfish and malign form; Tyranny is the most fertile source of pain, with which science is acquainted.

Love, indeed, is harmony, that is happiness, that is virtue and knowledge; in a word, perfection. Thus perfect love is an eternally pursued, yet eternally unattainable abstraction. But it is the consciousness of these aspirations towards a supreme delight, which neither experience teaches nor humanity renders possible, that stamps man as a divine being, whose desires and powers necessitate a future, and an eternal stage for their expansion and development.

XII.

Happy is the one who understands these things and can cast off the time-woven robe of prejudice and superstition. The path of knowledge and virtue lies open before him. He goes rejoicing on his eternal way through the brief defile of this mortal life, neither fearing death nor want, nor other passing evil, for he looks forward to an inheritance of glory, of which no priest, king or God can question his enjoyment. Happy is the one who understands. He will not fear to make an apparent sacrifice for a real gain. He will increase his own happiness to the utmost, whilst infinitely extending the happiness of his eternal comrades.

He will live a free man; he will depart a free spirit on the voyage of everlasting liberty.

The system of the student is recorded. Such a confession of such a faith is not likely to pass unassailed. Yet if it be—as doubtless many will be forward to assert—a mad vision of a proud and licentious spirit, which, in all humility, asks this strayed philosopher, which of the existing creeds, philosophies

or world systems should, on its own merits, be fairly referred to his conjectures.

It is a bold imagination; nevertheless, let it be imagined that all the spirits of the Infinite, from the souls of immeasurable star worlds, to the divine particle of the fly and the grass-blade, could assemble in stupendous conclave to choose a law for their eternal governance. Weigh well the faith of the student, and reflect whether in truth such a parliament would dare reject it? Whether there can be conceived a principle more worthy of the grandeur of the mightiest spirits, more accordant with every instinct and desire of a sentient being than the union of boundless liberty with everlasting order, of illimitable happiness with eternal progression?

Who, that once has grasped the beauty and splendor of such a faith, would envy the old gods their long-past pomp, their eternity without hope, their puppet subjects, and weariness of their own impossible perfection? Who would envy them when proving their tedium, and disproving their perfection, by the creation of imperfect beings? Who, rather than own himself a living toy of a celestial monarch, or a mere chemical production of an effervescent planet, would not glory in an eternal and self-regulated being, and fearlessly rely upon that intuitive knowledge, which, in all minds, and in all systems, under a thousand disguises, proclaims the Optimism of progress, and the Messiahship of hope?

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Our correspondence column admits every shade of opinion; all that we require is that the language shall be that current, in calm, unfettered social or philosophical discussion. It is often suggested that certain subjects should be excluded from public journals. We think that nothing should be excluded that is of public interest. Not the facts but the style to determine the propriety of the discussion.

We are in no wise to be held answerable for the opinions expressed by correspondents.

N. B.—It is particularly requested that no communication shall exceed one column. The more concise the more acceptable. Communications containing really valuable matter are often excluded on account of length.]

SPIRITUALISTIC.

THE THIRTY-FIRST OF MARCH.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM,
WITH A COMMUNICATION FROM THOMAS PAINE.

BY HENRY T. CHILD, M. D.

[The following communication has been delayed, but it is too good to be lost, which is sufficient excuse for its late presentation:]

How swiftly rolls the tide of time onward from the mighty past into the great unknown future, stopping momentarily in the ever-living present. Our little barques rush onward, it seems, with increased rapidity as each stroke of the clock of time notes another year gone. If we are alive and awake, we stand upon these fleeting barques holding the receding past in one hand and grasping the incoming future with the other, looking, however, with intense interest upon the living present. Twenty-four years have rolled away since the first tiny rap awakened earth from its slumbers and tolled out the dawn of a new day; twenty-four years of earth's history, richer and grander in all that makes life noble and divine, than any century of the past, in which the angel world has been casting up pearls continually, for which some have, like swine, been disposed to turn and rend them, while many have realized the glorious trust and gathered these pearls to deck their immortal brows.

We would speak to those who heard the first notes of this mighty bell that was to ring out over the world and proclaim liberty to all the inhabitants. Oh, blessed privilege. Are you aware of the mighty and majestic river of truth that then and there sprang forth on the mountain sides of earth's best and holiest conditions, and started with a force that must go on and on forever; its waters may become turbid by the conditions of the soil through which it passes, but they, in themselves, are pure; and sooner or later all this sediment of error and wrong will settle, leaving the waters pure and clear, and fit for the healing of the nations. Have you been drinking of these living waters all these years and made little or no effort to give them to your fellow men? If so, they have not healed you and made your souls to expand and bloom as they would had you been faithful pioneers and laborers seeking to give this to the world.

We know that the angels have been working earnestly, faithfully, in season and out of season, wherever they could find an opportunity to break the chains of superstition and open the windows of the soul that the light of heaven may come in and bless the world.

We know there have been strong men and noble, earnest women who put their hands to the plow at the very first sound, and who have never faltered or turned back for a moment, and these know that the angel-world ever blesses them for their earnestness and devotion.

Then, too, there are thousands and millions who were not awokened at the first gray dawn of the morning, but on whom this beautiful light has fallen, with its rich blessings, and who are devoted and faithful in their labors for its reception and its spread among mankind.

We are glad, and our heart rejoices to know that the Army of the Lord—the band who have chosen freedom and the right, are marching on and gathering hosts of recruits—day by day. As we look over the world and see this grand army of earth's children, sustained and supported as it has been, by the angel world, an innumerable company of men and women made more perfect by their ascension to the higher life, we know that before us lies the great victory of truth over error, of light over darkness, of good over evil, and we know that with each onward step in the great march of life, there is that gained that can never be lost. Now, stopping for a moment at the twenty-fourth mile-stone on our journey let us buckle on the armor, and move forward with firm step, marching ever to the music of the angels—keeping time with the grand role of eternity—bearing onward the great flag of truth, with the emblems of purity and love and harmony inscribed upon its folds. If we have stopped on the banks of this mighty river to pick up pebbles and cast them at each other, let us do so no more. Let us resolve to march right on, and let us strive not to soil its waters by any impurity in our lives; but, living in the atmosphere of the angels, knowing that they see our inmost thoughts, and read the intent of our souls—let our lives be true and noble and angelic here, and we may be certain that they will be so in the hereafter.

Having written thus far, a noble patriot and earnest worker, whose hands have never been idle in this life, or in that beyond, stood smilingly by our side, and said: "You have writ-

ten well—send it forth to the world, and let me add that, standing on the other shore, and looking down through the misty haze that envelops humanity, we must congratulate ourselves and you upon the wonderful success that has attended the introduction of spiritual truth in the world, in the last quarter of a century. I need not refer to the efforts of those men who lived in the days that tried men's souls to lay broad and deep foundations of social, civil, and political liberty. They are becoming better appreciated every day, and by more than the Spiritualists.

That there have been mistakes and failures we are well aware; but notwithstanding all these, there have been evidences furnished to satisfy millions that man does not—cannot die. That life is a continuous stream, and death but a ripples wave—a sparkling cascade on its shore, which, when understood, will not be feared.

More than this, we rejoice that in the bridging of the pathway between the two worlds, we have not only made ourselves known to the inhabitants of earth, and absolutely proved the continuance of life; but we have thereby opened the way for mankind to be much more effectual in their ministrations to us.

The world does not realize the value and importance of the grand work of "preaching to spirits in prison." Nearly every spirit that enters this life is under the necessity of returning to earth to receive from those who remain the means of starting on their progress in harmony—which is heaven. If, as mediums, you have found discord; if there has been suffering entailed upon you, it is but the expression of the condition of the spirits or yourselves. It is necessary that mankind should suffer on account of undeveloped conditions, until they learn the great lesson of preparing for higher conditions, by doing the best they can under all circumstances.

The crimes of society, its ignorance and folly, are sending millions to untimely graves, and causing a vast amount of suffering. Until this is remedied, sensitive men and women must bear heavy burdens, and go mourning on their way. Spiritualism, while it tells of the future, and gives grand and noble lessons to humanity, has a wider scope; it teaches that immortality is not a thing of the future alone, but of the present. The grandest lesson that humanity can learn to-day, is to learn to live right. The past is gone, the future will take care of itself, but the present—the ever living present—demands thought and labor. Earth's children are building, even building temples for their spirits to dwell in, temples that make a man the happiness of that spirit. We who have suffered, through ignorance of these great laws, are returning to give our experiences, and if we can tell you how to avoid the evils which have obstructed our pathway, we shall be able to outweigh our missions, and leave behind the burdens which we have laid upon our spirits.

Do you realize that every day and every hour you are either freeing your spirits from the chains of materiality and educating them for the higher and holier purposes of life, or are binding them with chains that shall hold them still more firmly within their grasp. Spirits who have not lived up to the light which was given to them when in the form, find it necessary to return and endeavor to impress upon others the importance of this work, and where they can accomplish this, they are enabled to advance.

We realize that this open intercourse between the two worlds is not alone for the benefit of humanity, but is equally important to the dwellers of all spheres.

There is not a soul here but may find through this communion the means of rising into higher conditions, and realizing grander and more perfect happiness, thus laying the foundation on which they are to build their heavens. While, therefore, you may rejoice in the truths which are given to you from the spirit world, remember that we are also made better by it; that the practical benefits of these revelations are mutual; earth and the spheres are bound closer together, and the progress of the one is linked with that of the other. We can go onward only as we carry you with us. So the universal brotherhood of man lives and moves together, and each onward step of the marching hosts vibrates throughout the entire family of God in the spheres and on all the earths.

TO DANIEL P. WILDER.

PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT STATE SPIRITUALIST ASSOCIATION,
AND ALL OTHER EARNEST, HONEST WORKERS IN THE CAUSE.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Having left the State in which we lived so long, labored together for the cause of Spiritualism, and the various reforms which it embodies, I feel impelled to address a letter to you upon the coming political issues, and what appears to me to be our duty in the case.

An entirely new platform is placed before us, one which though it is in entire accord in spirit with the old "Declaration of Independence," is in almost all its features the opposite of the policy of our government as it now stands.

As we analyze this new platform, we find that its underlying principles are justice, liberty and equality.

Have we any reason to expect either of these to be out worked under the dominance of any other political party as at present organized? Look at the great representative of the new coalition party, Horace Greeley, and the only one among them from whom we could hope better policy than the present.

He "desired the green sods might cover him before his daughter should occupy a public rostrum."

He would perpetuate the servitude of woman, keep her where she now is, politically—on a level with criminals, fools and babies. There can be neither freedom, justice nor equality anticipated in his platform, or that of his party; and if not from them, certainly it is vain to look among those still more conservative for these unmistakable rights.

You will remember that I have labored, in season and out of season, at all our public gatherings, for the recognition of woman's political equality, believing that no other reform could make progress until this was accomplished. I still work for the same great object; and I earnestly desire that the Spiritualists of Vermont will unite as one body, and improve this, their first opportunity to elect officers who will respect the claims of woman, ensure religious liberty and inaugurate equal rights for all.

I know the plea of some is, "that we cannot succeed, and it will be but throwing away our forces."

We as Spiritualists have long since learned that it is our duty to act from principle instead of policy. That it is our business to do right now, and leave consequences to take care of themselves. The present alone is ours. To-day we must be true, and inevitable law will unfold the to-morrow as the fruit of to-day.

Let us do right, and, whether we succeed, as we desire or not, we shall have no regrets.

If there are any who doubt the sincerity of those who inaugurated this move, let me assure them that had they seen the pale faces and heard the earnest utterances of delegates as they gave, in some instances, their all, and pledged the hard earnings of the future in support of this cause, and representing

as they did all classes of reformers, from all parts of the country—I say if the doubters had seen this as I saw it, they would feel, as I feel, that these people are terribly in earnest.

I only desire that the Spiritualists of Vermont will be as sincere and determined in finding out their duty and doing it.

I am not easily swayed by public enthusiasm, nor do I desire others to be.

I do not hesitate to give public expression to my honest convictions, even though they are opposed to popular prejudice. I hope my old friends in Vermont, during this campaign, will be equally candid.

We were ignominiously shut out from any recognition, as an organized body of Spiritualists, by your State Legislature. The cause of Woman Suffrage—notwithstanding the noble action of the Council of Censors—was entirely defeated by those who should have shown more respect for their wives and mothers.

The Governor of the State signed the call for the Convention, the object of which was to enforce religious bonds upon the people. In short, you can expect nothing better from any of the old line parties or policies. To support the Equal Rights party, is to work in our own legitimate channel, and for principles by which we can stand, and though it is for measures instead of men, that we are zealous, still I would add that perhaps no two names could be brought forward of a cleaner record than the two on this ticket. I am informed by those who have known her from childhood, and whose authority cannot be questioned, that nothing but good deeds and a pure life can truthfully attach itself to the name of Victoria C. Woodhull.

Mrs. H. M. SLOCUM.

EAST NEW YORK, L. I.

WHO FEARS TRUTH?

CARTHAGE, Mo., April 1, 1872.

WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY:—Some eight weeks ago I sent the following letter to S. S. Jones of the *R. P. Journal*, of Chicago, Ill. As yet it remains unanswered and I begin to think that for reasons best known to himself he does not deign to answer it; perhaps some one else will, Bro. Jones.

In searching for truth in the *R. P. Journal* and other Spiritualist papers, I am often puzzled to tell when reading conflicting statements or opinions, which is right. Especially was this so when reading your remarks on D. A. Eddy's Notes from Cleveland in No. 22 of the *Journal*, in which you speak of Mrs. Woodhull's "Vagaries in regard to the recent Amendments to the Constitution." Now, you undoubtedly have reason for considering them such, and if you would give them to your readers, it might help to set many a person right, who now think with nearly all the oldest and ablest woman's rights advocates, as well as some of the best legal minds of the country, that her arguments upon these amendments are "sound and unanswerable;" and in the language of Mrs. Stanton, "Mr. Woodhull's speeches and writings on all the great questions of National life are beyond anything yet produced by man or woman on our platform."

In the same number of the *Journal* in E. V. Wilson's department, Fannie Hardinge Britton is reported as saying: "I do not and will not sustain Mrs. Woodhull in her views as expressed in her speech before the people of Boston." I have her words; they were as follows: "I have the right to change my love when I please, to whom I please, as often as I please, and give it when I please." Now, will some person disprove that proposition, or tell us who shall decide for us, when or who we shall, or shall not love? Mrs. Britton also says, "I love my husband and none other." Now, I love my wife and none other; nevertheless, I claim that the rights Mrs. Woodhull speak of exist, and that they are not only mine, but every other human being's rights; but does it necessarily follow, that I, or every body, or any one will "change his love?" "True love is unchangeable."

Why do not those who criticise Mrs. Woodhull quote more of her speeches? not select those parts that disconnected and alone, give wrong impressions and ideas. Why do not they quote something like the following from her speeches upon the subjects spoken of above? "While assuming this ultra position we also occupy the other extreme, and declare that of all relations that exist in the universe there are none that should be so holy, so sacred, so reverenced, honored, worshipped, as the true unity, the true marriage, the marriage by God of two pure, trusting, loving, equal souls. Before the shrine of such devotion no impurities can kneel; within the influence of such holiness the highest angels come, and around its temple heaven lingers. Never were any more wide of the mark than when they think we would reduce the relation of the sexes to common looseness. To us there is nothing more revolting in nature than such a condition implies."

"I believe promiscuity to be anarchy, and the very antithesis of that for which I aspire. I know that there are all degrees of lust and love from the lowest to the highest. But I believe the highest sexual relations are those that are monogamic, and that those are high and spiritual in proportion as they are continuous. But I protest, and I believe every woman who has purity in her soul protests against all laws that would compel them to maintain relations with men for whom they have no regard. I honor that purity of life which comes from the heart, while I pity the man or woman who is pure simply because the law compels it." I have always believed that as a journalist you are too honest to misrepresent any persons by quoting garbled extracts of their sayings or writings.

As a people we are too much like a certain Dutch Justice of the Peace. The first case brought before him for trial was a woman, charged with some petty crime. After listening to the evidence of the prosecution, he says: "Vell, vell, I pronounce shudgement dat the woman ish guilty." "But hold on," says the defence; "you must hear the other side." "Vell, vell, I will hear it if I moost, but den de woman ish guilty." After listening patiently to the defence, he says: "Vell, vell, mine Got, mine Got, dit I ever; I reverse mine shudgement; de woman ish not guilty."

So I think it will be to a certain extent with the mass of the American people. When they have an opportunity and will listen to the evidence and arguments in defence of Mrs. Woodhull and other reformers who are being misrepresented, traduced and vilified, as all reformers always have been, and as the advocates of anti-slavery and Spiritualism full well remember.

Fraternally, your brother,

A. W. ST. JOHN.

TO E. R. B.

UPON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE, APRIL, 1872.

Oh, sobbing, suffering heart and anguished frame,
That sees no element of good in this!
Lamenting Death's decrees, and doubting whether bliss
Is destined for a life that now lacks aim;
Raise from the dust in which you prostrate face
Thy flattering fears, thy sad, despairing eye.
And gaze above—where from the opening sky
They disenchanted soul its darling yet will call!
May God teach thee to realize his truth—
Bring to thy heart the balm of heavenly praise,
That thou mayst glorify Him in all thy ways;
Then will this dear one, blighted in her youth,
Prove by thus early yielding up her breath,
'Twas to make good thy welcome after death,

N. Y., April 30, 1872.

HARRY.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM SPIRITS.

GIVEN THROUGH THE MEDIUMSHIP OF SARAH E. MICHENER, NOVEMBER 11, 1862.

The views now entertained in relation to certain truths, and the false idea of virtue that abound among men, render it difficult to diffuse, through the channels of inspiration, that which we deem important to communicate. What we would set before the thinking portion of Spiritual reformers is the idea that comes to us in relation to man's wants, his needs, and what he now claims as his privileges in regard to his amorous nature. We have carefully investigated this subject—have viewed it in all its phases of development of which we are capable; and from our observation, and from that of others yet more progressed, we are prepared to give through the present channel of communication what we deem truth upon this subject.

FREE LOVE.

This term has caused much sensation amongst undeveloped minds, and much condemnation and misunderstanding amongst those more progressed, in consequence of the different views that different minds take of the subject. But free love, as it will be known to the inhabitants of the earth, is destined to bless the race. No good but has its counterfeit; no blessing but what may be perverted to a curse. So with free love.

That freedom that leaves others free, whilst it claims the same for itself, that love which would bless, while it harms none, cannot but result ultimately in good. The undeveloped, the unprogressed man or woman, may find in the free indulgence of their animal nature a transient enjoyment that can in no wise bless themselves or others, save that it teaches them lessons of wisdom, and will eventually bring them into a plane higher, nobler, more spiritual. But in no way can humanity be raised but through freedom, even though it may lead through suffering; and the provision of their freedom will bring that suffering upon the human family that can alone prove their saviour.

You cannot force men into virtue. You cannot legislate men and women into purity of life. You cannot institute a moral sentiment otherwise than through perfect freedom that will oppose a barrier to crime, to licentiousness and physical degradation. Leave all free—free to act and free to suffer from the result of their actions instead of the condemnation of their fellows, and you will then place them in a position where they can and will work out their own salvation.

The time cometh, and is even now at the door, when humanity will be free; free from political, religious and social bondage; when tyranny, whether it be on the part of national rulers, of religious teachers, or of the yet more crushing, more soul-destroying institution of marriage, shall be known no more. But this freedom, this state of physical and mental emancipation, comes only through much suffering, both mental and physical. The period of a new birth has arrived; a new idea is to be born into the world; a new and sublime inspiration is to take the place of the old customs and opinions, and the death of the one and the birth of the other, must produce violent struggles. This shall be known in all departments of life, among all classes of society, among all denominations of religion, and it shall rend and divide till nought of the old survives. And from the progressed in each and all the departments of life shall a new order come forth; and through suffering these will be cemented and bound together in labors humanitarian, in love universal, in action harmonious.

The true condition of life, the true sphere of action, lies in the unrestrained, untrammelled exercise of all the faculties of the mind. No legislative enactments, no governmental restriction should, of right, be laid upon any of the attributes of mind. Freedom in all things, freedom from all external authority, is the only means whereby the individual can progress into a state of harmony. The exercise of loving counsel, the discipline that example and healthful surroundings impart, do not come under the denomination of force or restraint. When the exercise of love and of wise example fail to regulate the action of any, it is unsafe, it is detrimental to growth to attempt coercion. The individual must have the

benefit of his own experience; no other can avail him. He must violate, and he must suffer from the consequences of such violation, and thereby gain that wisdom which he was not organically or intuitively endowed with.

Therefore, when we advocate the freedom of the affections, we mean freedom from all arbitrary interference on the part of individuals or of legislatures; but not freedom from the dictates of an enlightened understanding, or from the results of a harmonious unfolding, or from the exercise of the intuitional faculties. We would encourage all to the exercise of their highest perceptions of right, let that standard be what it may. Better to err on their own plane of unfoldment; that is better to transgress some of the laws of health, physical or mental, than to act from the plane of another before conviction takes possession of the mind—before being prepared to recognize the truthfulness of the position; for thereby are they becoming the mere passive embodiment of principles that have no vitality in themselves. Of such is the world of mankind now composed. They act from an arbitrary and unreal standard of virtue, and consequently have no foundation to stand upon when temptation overtakes them, or when principle is not made the basis of action.

The greatest good to the human family is the only standard of right action. Whatever promotes health in the individual, that is, the right, physically, for that individual. That which promotes the happiness, provided it interferes not with the happiness of another, is the right for that individual. That which promotes healthy development, moral and physical, in a community, is right for that community. There is no arbitrary rule of right and wrong. The effect upon human happiness is, and can be the only criterion by which to judge of the rightfulness of actions. By their fruits shall ye know them. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. So it was said in the time past; and such will it be to the end of time.

As mankind progresses, right and wrong will progress. What is right to-day will and should be wrong in time to come; for different planes of development must have different standards of right. That which would contribute to the happiness of the low and undeveloped, and, therefore, would be the right for them, would be the torment of hell to those who have attained to a higher state of development. But shall the low and undeveloped be debarred their good? Shall they not have their enjoyment? Nay, verily, they are acting in harmony with their development—are performing their parts in the economy of nature. Why, then, deprive them of the enjoyment of what, to them, is right action?

This consideration should not, however, prevent any who have progressed to a higher plane from using all their persuasive powers—from exerting all the influence that love and paternal feeling would prompt, to elevate those on the lower plane, to lead them to perceive that there is a higher enjoyment than that which they are in possession of. Thus will humanity become the element by which to ascend the endless ladder of progression.

There is a principle operating in the world of human existence by which humanity will be raised from its present low and degraded condition, and brought into a state of harmony and paternal relations. This principle is nearly allied to and dependant upon the idea so much repudiated by conservatives of the present day, which is no other than Free Love! or freedom of the affections—one and the same, as we apply the terms. It is the freedom (unrestrained by legal penalties or popular ideas of right) to follow the attractions; to love, unrestrained by other than the love of goodness; of purity of right, as manifested to each individual. This love, this attraction, when once purified and sanctified by the predominating love of goodness, of truth, of desire for humanity's unfolding, will lead no one to violate the principles of justice, of right, of personal purity. It will but lead to that course of action that will secure to coming generations that organization and mental development best adapted to a harmonious age. The child born into a life of never-ending duration has a right which will, ere long, be recognized, of a true and harmonious development. And how can the offspring of inharmony be harmonious? How can the offspring of lust be other than impure? How can false relations beget other than moral deformities, lascivious propensities and unholy desires? Bring the being into existence free from all those contaminating influences that now pervade society; let it be an object desired in the act that gave it being; let it be honored and cherished as an embodiment of love, pure and holy, as Divinity itself let the progenitors be chosen for their manly and womanly natures, and the object recognized as a sound pledge of devotion to principle, and generations will not have to pass before the effect will be plainly visible upon the rising age.

We do not say that paternity outside the conjugal relations is the ultimate to which the world is to arrive. Far be it from us to set such bounds to humanity's progression. But in the present condition of the race, with its present, we may say, low development, we would say that better, far better, is parenthood outside of what is now recognized as marriage, than that under the law where love reigneth not, where inharmony dwelleth; where lust, not love begets.

Whatever will raise humanity, whatever will contribute to the elevation of the race, is, for the time being, right and proper. If not, how shall we reconcile the institution and customs of the past which we have so evidently outgrown? But right, in the time thereof, is all that tends to man's unfolding, all that will bring him into a higher plane. Since marriage has been debased, since the institution has been made a means whereby to curse and enslave, since union for life is often but a forced partnership from which one, if not both, would be gladly released, how is the race to be improved, how

elevated above the low plan on which children are now begotten, but by leaping the barrier that arbitrary law has imposed, and in freedom, in purity, in true relations to bring forth in harmony generations that in progress of time may come together in true conjugal relations, divested of that preponderance in the amitive propensity that now degrades the human lower than the brute. Children born under true conditions, would become better prepared for true conjugal relations, when offspring would be begotten in love, in harmony, in freedom and from the love of offspring, and not, as now, the result of carnal indulgence in which the consequent immortal is but an unwelcome appendage.

Friends of humanity, there are more truths in nature than have ever been dreamed of in your philosophy. Condemn nothing, but investigate all things. Bring all new ideas within sanctity of truth, and reject nothing because it has not the sanction of the time-honored past. The progressive mind must not be fettered by the moral standard of any age. What is right to this age would not have been right in the preceding, neither will that which is necessary for the advancement of the present be adapted to the wants of the coming age. Be wise in your day and generation, and let your light shine forth that truth may be honored, that virtue may be cherished, that purity, harmony and fraternity may bless your race.

"THE ANARCHY OF FREE LOVE."

The Tribune has an editorial on "The Anarchy of Free Love." Why not say the anarchy of legal marriage?

Is it not a fact that in all the cases that are daily transpiring of a tragical character, where woman is involved in the transaction, the principal parties thereto were married persons, or contemplating marriage, and the direct cause of the crime, the marriage institution. Is it not also a fact that a majority of persons who enter into what is termed the marital relation, do not find that happiness that they anticipated, and soon feel that they are placed under a restraint of their personal freedom which causes them much annoyance and inconvenience?

Hence they seek to find outside of matrimony that happiness which they had anticipated, yet failed to find in that relationship.

Now, if marriage were what is claimed for it, a divine institution, and God joins the parties thereto through and by virtue of the marriage ceremony, "legally" administered, then we should find, in all cases, happiness would be the result, and it would be futile for outsiders to attempt to interfere, for those in the pale of matrimony are blissful and supremely contented. But facts amply demonstrate that this idea is a mistake.

Marriage is an institution for temporary convenience merely, and a system of servitude in its present form, that must eventually be overthrown, and society be the better for it.

It is true as the Tribune says, "That the institution of marriage is undergoing searching trial;" but the fact is that marriage is its own greatest accuser, and is daily furnishing evidence of its own inherent rottenness and criminality, and but leave it alone it would die either by its own confession of guilt or by its own suicidal proclivities. What we want to take its place is love—free love if you please to term it such, for love has never been known to work any evil, and as fast as conditions can be made favorable, have such relationships and institutions established, based upon freedom and equality as will best serve the purposes of a truly enlightened public sentiment.

The slave seeks his freedom, and strife and bloodshed is the result, and shall this be called the anarchy of freedom? Is it not rather the anarchy of slavery driving the slave to deeds of violence to regain what has been taken from him. Say not then, that he or she who seeks affectional freedom (which is every person's birthright) is guilty of any crime against society, but, on the contrary, it is through this agency that society is to be lifted out of its present undeveloped and rapacious condition and born into a new kingdom of true social freedom.

Talk them not about the anarchy of free love, but rather say with millions of facts to sustain you—the anarchy of legalized marriage.

ALEX. S. DAVIS.

NEW BOOK FOR WOMEN—BY PROF. J. M. COMINS.

Dr. Comins of the Electric Medical College of New York, Professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children has issued a book expressly for women, and containing just the information that they ought possess. The ignorance that is prevalent among women regarding their most important functions is something positively alarming. Most women enter upon the relations of marriage in utter ignorance of the duties that inevitably devolve upon them. It is no wonder that we have a generation of puny, sickly, half made-up children growing up around us. But what is still more surprising even than the ignorance itself is the prejudice which exists preventing the spread of knowledge of the principles of generation and the rearing of children. To advance the subject is reason sufficient for ostracism.

A woman who moves in this direction is considered to be as much worse than the most common woman of Greene street, as she is considered worse than the highest and haughtiest dame of Fifth avenue; so much worse than any other possible woman that even the most common civilities of life are denied her. Therefore, it is we are doubly thankful that medical science, represented by men, is coming forward to the rescue of woman which she refuses as the hands of their own sex. And we hail with especial favor this effort of Professor Comins as an innovation absolutely demanded by the condition of the times in the special direction upon which he has written. Very much more of the beauty and usefulness of life than is usually imagined

depend upon the perfection and health of the sexual system, and it may be set down as a fixed rule that no woman is fit to enter upon sexual relations without a thorough knowledge of all their conditions. This book is sent by mail, post paid, upon the receipt of twenty-five cents. Address Prof. J. M. Comins, 143 East Twenty-sixth street, New York city.

THE NATURAL vs. THE ENACTED.

All literature, not purely scientific, bears testimony to the grievous suffering endured by married women. Our daily and weekly journals teem with records of cruelty, meanness, desertion and divorce. Stories innumerable are written, principally by women, urging men to care for their wives, to give some of their time to the home circle, to loosen the purse strings, to keep sober, to spend an evening at home now and then. But if the legal marriage is the divine institution the moralist would have us believe, how is it that it proves such a failure? Why are there not stories written and sermons preached to show a man the baseness of ill-using, beating, insulting and neglecting his mother or his daughter? Simply because nature is trusted in these relations, while in the case of a more powerful sentiment than either of these, the law interferes and makes mischief. A great political economist asserts as a truth that, "the general and continued violation of any law, proves that the law is itself at fault." It will be a day of jubilee indeed when this maxim is brought to bear on the legal marriage. Our inherited theories of human nature, which ignorantly decide it to be *vile*; our priestly traditions respecting the gross character of the physical union, have both helped to shut out the light, the light of the nineteenth century, which has been fearlessly admitted into all other departments of human thought and life. Marriage was shrouded in mystery, enveloped in the fogs of the ages, too sacred to be investigated; in no school were its laws taught; no father instructed his son on the true relation of the sexes, no mother enlightened her daughter in respect of the passions—the emotions, which if she were properly constituted were maturing, while the intellect was yet so immature. No wonder that love melts into indifference and then becomes dislike or hate. No wonder that children are born ill-conditioned, unlovely, feeble, or coarse-brained. If the physical marriage was a degrading fact in itself, the result of it could not be admirable. Acting on these false or blind premises, we have arrived at a social system, the ruling elements of which are unhappiness, disease and dishonesty. To remedy these evils we now and then add a patch to this side of the law; now and then we pare a trifle from the other side, but always begin and leave off our doctoring in the belief that we have embodied the divine law in the human.

S. B. S.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

GROTON JUNCTION, MASS.

Had I powers equal to the love I bear to the holy cause of human emancipation, you would have another advocate added to the mighty army of heroic reformers to aid in beating back this Gog and Magog of monopoly in the form of custom and prejudice, which ever stands at the portals to guard and repel. Coming events, which are now casting their shadows before, prophetically answer the query—shall woman always yield to an aristocracy of clay like her own?

Conscious of great powers, which have a divine commission to be recognized and employed, how can any high-souled woman look with composure upon the impotent wings which man has clipped in the very sight of the upper fields where she is destined to soar?

Not prayers, tears, supplications, genius, nor faith even, can redeem the world from ignorance and sin. In pushing the frontiers of good into the realm of evil, the pioneer must work and toil to transform and reform.

The laborer is the miracle worker—the legitimate offspring of zealous diligence. The voice of God is heard through perseverance in well doing. Faithful work is holiest worship.

Tolerance and intolerance must share a like fate for while one denies human rights at will, the other doles them out at pleasure. In either case, unwarrantable assumed guardianship. But despite human proscription, "Truth yet shall have an outlet; soon will the gates unlock and force itself a passage, though chiseled through a rock."

Look at the self-inflicted burdens of society—our benevolent institutions—a just comment and partial penalty for the rottenness of our social system and perversion of Nature's laws. They are but the inheritance of sufferings of the inmates who shall expiate the crimes that produced them.

The old rickety structure, the procuring cause of those wrecks of suffering humanity, is discovered on inspection to be unsafe, and the tearing away of the old and rebuilding a new bridge is always attended with some inconvenience to the traveler. Perfect as an angel must he or she be who, in combating oppression to gain long withheld rights commits no errors.

Woman has too long and too patiently submitted to the infliction of her penalty under Bible authority, while man has devised every possible means to escape his punishment by sentence of the same court, with none to so faithfully administer it to him as he to her.

We must have a renewed faith and firmer belief in the account of the origin of woman accepting the rib as a truthful and beautiful symbol of the semi circumference of man (Adam "for their name was called Adam.") One half, a simile to the word *citizen* in the constitution implies equality in all things, accidental and unanimously uttered truths were inspired by unseen intelligences hence "they builded wiser than they knew."

We cannot spare Bible authority yet, so long as its history is repeated, those who adhere to it and still think that Adam's "deep sleep" was peculiar to that primeval age, such surely live in the unaccountable and undefined light of the first three days before the sun was suggested "to give light by day." Adam always has been "in a deep sleep," and to-day is in a profound reverie—oblivious of the future.

Bating the question of her origin when woman was brought unto the man he recognized her physical identity, hence equality with him, and gave her a distinctive name WOMAN.

Now let progressed man (waking Adam) recognize her entire equality call her WOMAN and embody the resolution in daily life. Not like unprogressed Paul, value her only as a convenience in guiding the house, and putting every article of wardrobe on its good behavior, and causing his linen to turn pale at the sight of our wash-tub, and no seams venture (like its owner) to rip out, knowing the penalty of having its lips sewed up.

These and kindred duties done, what then is left to fill her mind, but the frivolities of fashion and insipidities of gossip, varied perhaps by that flood of romances and love stories which sets towards empty heads as air rushes to a vacuum.

To such avocations would man prescribe woman instead of engaging her in the heavenly art of turning men more into the similitude of God. For

He is but a half part of one blessed whole,
Left to be finished by such as she;
And she a fair divided excellence,
Whose fullness of perfection lies in him,
When two such silver currents mutual join,
They glorify the bands that bound them in.

Woman's suffrage is as sure to obtain as woman is to exist, it is the very next step on the road to progress.

Though some partisans may employ steam driven engines of "fifty satan power" to hurl about their deficient missiles, they are yet to learn how hard it is to kick against the pricks.

Enfranchised women will be an audible prophecy towards that higher divinity which shall rebuke the passions which now degrade and engulf in misery and woe.

When Galileo discovered the motion of the earth, Columbus the new world, Fulton the power of steam and Morse the telegraph, little thought they, much less their persecutors, to what gigantic proportions they would grow and their almost infinite utility to man.

Outweighing all other considerations, woman's cause stands supremely pre-eminent in view of the sublime heights it will yet attain.

It is an opprobrium to the human race that the woman who expected to be the life partner of a man be compelled by legal contract to remain the slave of a brute, who, through his intemperance or dissoluteness, has destroyed the marriage of the soul.

It is the fault of man that woman has yet done so little for the advancement of the race. Then let him redeem the past by enlisting the divinely-adapted energies of woman in the work of regenerating the world. He will thus give to the forces of civilization a power superior to his own—one without which his own is comparatively barren of good fruits.

To foretell the different walks of usefulness which will fall to the lot of the sexes; to predict the changes in the laws which will assuredly follow when woman takes her proper rank in the labors of the world; to portray the beauties of the new earth, which her refinement and taste will adorn, are things not yet revealed.

Though a stranger, yet I claim a relation in the cause of truth and right.

ELIJAH MYRICH.

THE ETERNAL FUTURE.

What are men and women going to do with it? That it will be present when it becomes important to us is true; but as a subject for present remark it is future. I do not design to guess on this subject; for I would as soon trust myself to guess the distance from here to Aldebaran as I would attempt to guess at the nature of a heaven. This quixotic employment would be as likely to hit in the one performance as in the other. If man would throw away all disquisitions on such a topic and come back to his own intrinsic nature, and ascertain just what would precisely suit himself, he could tell the nature of a heaven; for if the real man is not to be suited it is idle to talk of a heaven for him. While on a trip down the North River some years ago, I found myself, as is sometimes the case, in a free conversation with a few persons on the simple developments of being, as contradistinguished from the trifling tales of theories. While very frankly expressing myself, an old gentleman from my own city, as I afterward learned, spoke in a very earnest manner, saying, "W— you will go to hell." This was too ridiculous to awaken the least unpleasant feeling. The man, a stranger, so animated and positive, and withal so certain of having discharged a sacred duty and declared a great fact that for the moment I was amused, and could of course take no exceptions to the rudeness of the remark. Hence I quietly rejoined, "I think I shall; for if you go to heaven I am not going there. You would make a hell of it anywhere; and I would sooner wander in eternal loneliness than have such company. You can't mind your own business. My heaven has got to suit me, or I shall never find one." This to him was something new in the characteristics of a heaven. He was both quiet and attentive until I had finished my subject; then sitting down by me, for one hour or more, and about as interested a man as I ever talked with. An acquaintance of his passing, he caught him by the skirt of the coat, repeating, "Here is a man who has told me more than I ever dreamed of." "But what has this to do with the matter in hand?" Much; for it develops how little people have thought on a subject that theories make of the first and last importance. And also how little they count on any sensible happiness for themselves in it. If they can please some abstract importance, they hope to have a heaven, where they may hear the welcoming approval of "well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord." This with the mass is to complete the sense of happiness. Let us see how much there is of this. I will suppose there is a very unexceptionable religionist, in just such a fix, and I will allow that he unmistakably hears this compliment to his industry. Now, if he feels as he says he does, "a poor miserable creature," I do not see where this plastering approval can help him; or that

he could make less of it than one of the keenest jibes of irony, or he must doubt its having any reference to himself. And, if on the other hand, he does feel the waltzing glories of living sweets thrilling his entire being, he may safely consider this abstract glossing mere sham. If I had the approval of all the gods ever writ of, it could only sport with my misery in the absence of my own. And with my own approval supreme, for another to plaster me, as if it were important, I would consider an insult to my manly nature. For if he could not love and approve me without telling me of it, I would prefer to be without either. In all theories there must be something said or done to belittle man. Otherwise a devil could not keep his heel upon the individual. But, what are men and women to do with the eternal future?" How is it that they shall occupy themselves to find the greatest sum of happiness? To find a something that shall be real, not fictitious? It is certain that they cannot get much out of living as they do in this mode of being, where the whole drift of existence seems to be to acquire abstract values, climb to the pinnacle of earthly fame, and generally to secure each other's admiration, or to drag along the disheartened "beats" of such attempts. If all were to succeed and achieve their highest wishes in such direction, these pursuits would become stale after a while; for they are fictions and cannot make the first application to the human soul. If there is not something in man's substantial being, of which he has a very imperfect conception here, that can contribute its substantial values to the endearing interests of the future, man may justly shudder at the prospect of an existence too gloomy for thought, since it will be without any fitting compensation. The conception of glorifying a God forever, would be much like the cheap pleasure of playing pin forever. It would wear out. Failing in interest from being an eternal tautology. There must be something, that in the relish and enjoyment of which we shall not tire; a something where the flame will always be brilliant and feed itself. That is, be self-sustaining and keep up its own eternal interest, instead of taxing; enshrine the human soul, and be something that none could avoid without a sense of loss. And this can have no connection with formal conventional association, or any very high regard that we may entertain for each other; nor any splendid intellectual performances or scientific discoveries, nor from any marvels that one may perform not common to another. Displays of any kind will yield the poorest kind of satisfaction. They have yielded little else than envy here, and it is certain that they can do nothing better elsewhere; for those who would wish to dazzle before us, where all fairly came to our senses, we shall hold in contempt without being able to help ourselves, even in the best possible use of our good manners. Honors that are vested upon each other will be short lived and as unsubstantial as a supper of sawdust. And equally so will be the idea that we had made a sensation in this world. For even now the reflection of our best performances become suddenly vapid; others may relate our exploits and possibly awaken a momentary vanity, but the sensation will be just as brief, as unsatisfying, and leave us to exclaim, with Abraham Lincoln, on his first coming to consciousness in another mode of being, while noting its simplicity and eternal remove from all pretension, he characteristic asked, "Is this all there is to existence, while we have been making so much fuss about everything else?"

The institution of a government to manage others, while we have made the poorest possible use of ourselves, in codifying its rules and getting the mastery of its machinery, will have lost its last charm in a mode of being, where abstract rights are never known, and where the responsibility of the human soul to its individual possessor can never be avoided. No plans can be instituted to drive dull care away; for there are no inventions but will wear out, and keep the soul on an eternal rack to burst up something to dispel the *ennui*, and scare away the blues. Cleopatra *naively* asks the question, "What shall one do in a mode of being, where there are no odds to ask, and none to give. No honors to be sought nor wealth to lay up; no advantages to cater for, and none to lose. But where equal chances for pursuing the sweetest possible happiness forever, is all there is, without as much as realizing the wish to make one move to gain the smile of a universe. For Caesar is no longer the Caesar of the Romans, nor Cleopatra the Queen of Egypt and the daughter of Ptolemy Anletes. But each are simple individuals in the realm of being, where happiness is all there is to live for, and that to make its holiest replies in the deepest soul of its possessor." Now I insist that unless there is something inherent in the natures of both man and woman, that in their familiar and unabridged freedom with one another, shall supply this, it cannot be found. And this is something of which present life, up to now, affords no sample for judging. Simply that there is nothing in this mode of being, as this kind of freedom, where familiarity abounds, unsmitten by the coarseness of cold blooded vulgarity. Love is here to be licensed and placed under the chilling ban of law, education and false society. For these have ever claimed the right to manage it. Pure love has never, nor ever can live, under such constraints. Hence, pure love with us is never known, unless it be in that shyness that avoids these self constituted meddlers that is tolerated here in conventional attraction and social platitudes. And these are confined to those incessant samenesses that in their time use up all the interest they can awaken, by any measure of art that can be invented to keep it up. The drifting of the human to-day from all the barriers of licensed privileges into the arena of unlicensed lust, develops the absolute rottenness of all invented arrangements in their application to the wants of the race. For lust is but the product of an inverted and misdirected love principle; which, in breaking over licensed bounds, manifests the characteristics of a pent up fury. When some fool of a Canute by verbal or written law regulates the ebb and flow of the tides, he may next attempt to limit the necessary freedom of the human soul. None but a very devil could have sprung upon the race so bad a measure to regulate so dear an interest.

That this pure, untrifling devotion between male and female, *ad libitum*, untaxing, unobligated, unrestrained, and unconstrained, will eternally form the staple of pure solid enjoyment, there can be no doubt. The little that finds its way to the human heart in this mode of being, through the network of infernal patrols and safeguards, with which it has been environed, has more interested the real soul of being than all the discoveries of science, all the windy declamations ever harangued in sermons, speeches and orations, and all the critical analysis of ethics, together with all the inventions ever gotten up to bless human life. Indeed, all that has, or ever will crop out to beautify and bless existence, will spring from the intoxication of this hitherto unexplored fountain of pure happiness; and, too, this devotion will be as unconfin'd as are like tastes and temperaments, where the positives and negatives, or opposition in sex, will eternally exist in unresisting relations. For these opposites are the essential commentators of each other. We have talked long and loud about going to heaven. If the ill-starred company who have prated with such long faces and so seriously on the subject of barely getting into heaven with all their soul-wearing exertions find it, I shall not go there. It pleases me better to see faces long, the shortest

way. If heaven were a something abstract in its nature, man can only feel an abstract interest in it. No heart can fasten upon such a tenure. No soul can do aught else than to tolerate it. Or if it be some local fixture, with its round of stereotyped performances, in shouting wild hosannas to amuse some supposed divinity, it will in time wane in interest, and finally sink in hopeless disgust. Besides the doubt that would haunt a sensible heart, despite of itself, of ever finding any sane being who would consent to be the target for such unmeaning fooleries. So little attention is paid to ceremonies where artless truth is supreme, that were a Demosthenes, a Phillips, Curran or an Everett to make a speech, they would talk to vacancy, or unappreciating fools. For every human soul who is disposed in a better mode of being, is its own philosopher, its own orator, and the capable artisan of all those rare fitnesses, that respond with such laughing loves to individual wants. For when somebody else can tell me better what suits me than I can, my peculiar personal appreciations might as well be expunged. To talk of a heaven for me, without my being suited, is precisely like all human preaching, anomalous. If we are to have any other material out of which to construct a heaven, than we now possess we should never realize it; since it would be as unsuited to our wants, as unlike us in substance. For neither our natures or qualities are ever to be changed; for any such change would involve the question of identity. If we were intelligent and practical, a heaven could be found here as well as elsewhere. For it will eternally be found in the simple legitimate uses of ourselves without one item of invention. Carry our methods of life into another mode of existence, and we as necessarily carry our hell with them; as we find it their accompaniment here. As it is, neither man or woman have any intelligent conception of association with each other, either in married life or out of it. They live in a world with one another, much like handling our dearest friends with a pair of tongs, for fear of affording the tongue of scandal its natural element to fatten on. Where intelligence abounds, scandal has no meaning. Here the heart exists just without the bounds of actual starvation, where life is about as cheerless as "the Potters' field." The happiness of the human soul being found in the heart stirring relations of opposites in the essential nature of their being, originating in the inherent properties that constitute them; it is sure that this interest will never wane, so long as male and female shall exist. And there is no intention to secure this, for it lies in the elementary properties of necessary being. It will require no threatening to set it in motion, no psalm-singing to give it importance and no coaxing to perpetuate its interest. All other claims will require a great deal of nursing to keep them alive. Whoever is looking for a future reward must look *within* himself, or never find it.

E. W.

WHAT I KNOW ABOUT FREE LOVE.

TWO LETTERS TO JUDGE J. W. EDMONDS, AND TO JUDGE E. C. HOLBROOK, RESPECTIVELY, BY C. L. JAMES, OF ALMA, WIS.

My Brethren in the Hope of Immortality:

I have read your letters on free love in *R. P. Journal*. I know something of the subject, and as you evidently do not, I think it no more than right to tell you what I know. You both bestow a good deal of personal abuse on Mrs. Woodhull, but that I do not propose to answer. It is the libel on free love alone that concerns me, or that I think myself competent to refute from personal experience. You, Bro. Edmonds, call free love prostitution, which if you meant it for any thing else than a nick name, must imply that we free lovers approve of prostitution. I assure you that you are mistaken. We all think prostitution as bad as marriage—I know not how to say worse. You call free love a system of selfishness. Let us examine this assertion. Selfishness seeks pleasure at his neighbor's expense—implies an invasion of his neighbor's rights. He who does to all men as he would have them do to him is not selfish. He is not required to do any more. Charity which goes beyond this does mischief by encouraging dependence and crime,—the only reason why it is right to give to beggars at all, is that they are made beggars by the injustice of society, and we as members of society, are therefore in their debt. He then only is selfish who is unjust. But justice is the correlative of liberty. There is no right which is not a duty also. The abolition of the bondage which marriage imposes on women, and the corresponding license which it gives to men, is the *right* of women and the *duty* of men. The woman who works for it is no more "selfish" than an abolitionist. See, now, we throw back your charges upon marriage. Marriage is not only lust, but lust organized—selfish, brutal, murderous passion, wedded to bad government and false religion.

We hate it, not because it restrains our passions, for it does not, but because it subjects our sisters to the foulest outrages which the passions of their tyrants can inflict. Will you retract your slanders, or will you show by our acts or lives that I mistake our position? Bro. Holbrook, you have written a long letter based upon one complete mistake. You assume all through that free lovers acknowledge no right on the part of the government to regulate the relations of the sexes at all. There may be free lovers who hold notions so absurd, but we are not all answerable for them. The free love doctrine, to the Oneida Communists, the Fourierites, the Owenites, the "affinity" school, the "varietist" school, and myself, who belong to no school, is not that love cannot be restrained, nor that it ought not to be, nor that the restraining must be left wholly to the individual, but that marriage far from advantageously restraining passion makes woman everywhere its helpless victim; being in marriage the slave of one man, and out of it the slave of every man. The doctrine of free love is not that a woman may take away any man she pleases, when and for as long as she likes; we all believe that it may often be her duty to suppress her inclinations, and I guess most of us agree that there are occasions when it is abominable to force her by penalties, social or statutory, to submit to the advances of any man except as she may like it. Do you say that this is wrong or right? If right, you have no case against free love in general; if wrong—but you surely dare not say so, at least I never met a man who dared, though I fear many hate free love for another reason.

C. L. JAMES,

A CRITICISM.

Theories are more easily constructed by the imagination than the judgment. The fanciful castles we build in the air are as worthless as they are cheap. They cannot resist the storm of stubborn facts, and we lose them when we most need their protection. We are more ready to make things conform to our own idiosyncrasies than we are to work with nature to beautify both it and us with the stamp of his eternal laws. Instead of rising to her mountain summit, we too often try to level the mountain to our feet. This is rebellion against the inevitable, and we only kick against the pricks to wound our own flesh.

Of this nature are two opposing theories of the true civilization. The individual and communal ideas are, alone, false to nature; but true to her when united. A man is not an isolated, independent being, only; neither is he the mere component of the man. Each one has an individuality to work out, and a part to play in the history of the race. The individual and the family cannot contain, and use all the elements and resources of civilization, nor can absorption in one great family develop the faculties of the individual.

One person cannot know or do everything in one short life. The highest development of civilization is attainable only by division of effort. Let each individual concentrate all his powers upon one object, and make the most of it, and all things will be accomplished; but let each person try to do everything, and nothing will be done.

We would not, by any means, advocate one idea theory, but would have each person select a primal pursuit, and make other efforts only secondary. The old N. E. order, when the arts of life were in the compass of the family, has passed away. The present tendency is to the division and redivision of effort, and the consolidation of means. This tendency must be accepted. The only question open is this: Shall a few capitalists, by the monopolizing powers of rich corporations, own everything, and reduce everything to a virtual serfdom? Or, shall the laborer become more intelligent, and receive the full reward of his toil through the co-operative system?

The age of machinery and applied sciences necessitate great investments to insure success. A thousand persons may be employed in a mill run by one water-wheel, and do a great business, when, if they separated, and each one worked at the old spinning wheel and hand-loom, they could not keep from starvation.

Co-operation, the middle ground between feudalism and communism, is the system that must finally prevail. Upon this plan, and this only, can waste of force be saved, and the tyranny of power be prevented.

JOHN P. GUILD.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

MOODS AND CONFESSIONS.

BY AN OUTCAST.

I.

First wild I yearned for action,
Then soft, I longed for rest:
I never found the action;
I never found the rest:
I found unrest the demon:
I found unrest the fever:
I found unrest the madness:
But never found the action,
And never found the rest:
Though cleft from noblest action,
Though cleft from sweetest rest,
I caught a moment's rapture
Upon a loving breast.

II.

Poet I might have been
Had I not dreamed that I
Was born to scourge the foul—the false,
With words of prophecy:
Prophet I might have been
Had I not dreamed that I
Treasured within my deepest heart
The poet's melody.
Thus was the poet by the prophet slain;
And thus the prophet ever spoke in vain.

III.

(1.)
When the stars are sailing
In their silver sweep,
In their path prevailing
O'er the Heaven's deep:
They seem grandly moving
To a brighter goal;
They seem warmly loving
God's most hidden soul.

(2.)

Doubtless they are moving
To a brighter goal;
Doubtless they are loving
God's most hidden soul;
But they have a glory
Evermore their own:
Write with gleams a story
Lasting as God's throne.

(3.)

In our dreams ideal
In our march sublime,
Gleaming through the Real,
Spurning space and time,
Hot desires we cherish
For God's mystery;
But deeds cannot perish.
They outlive the sky.

IV. (1.)
Weep not for me when I am dead;

Weep for me that I lived so long;

That day on day as fruitless fled

As the mad babble of a nurse's song,

(2.)

Weep not for me when I am dead:

But bless the place of my repose.

Weep that on my unshielded head

Fell ceaseless, countless, cruel wrongs and woes.

(3.)

Weep not for me when I am dead;

But curse the false and craven Time

That mocked the sapient words I said—

My dreams of truth, the holy, the sublime.

(4.)

Weep not for me when I am dead;

Weary I with the weary rest,

And on me dews of peace are shed

That never, never soothed my living breast.

(5.)

Weep not for me when I am dead;

I toiled and battled, not in vain,

Some beasts I with God's manna fed,

I made them nobler through my bitter pain.

(6.)

Weep not for me when I am dead;

Though barren my divinest strife,

Though few I taught, and few I led,

I heralded for earth the higher life.

(7.)

Weep not for me when I am dead:

Warm soul was mine, not wisdom deep.

My bosom was a banquet spread,

For him who loveth much, why should ye weep?

V.

Thou sayest God is love, and love alone,

A mighty mass of blubber without bone,

Of treacle and of pap a shoreless sea,

In short, a sentimental, like thee.

Ah! no; God is a fierce devouring fire;

A yearning life, or passionate desire.

Dread at the Seen; more dread at the Unseen;

Panting to be in haste what he hath been—

An opulence of wild, remorseless force,

That crushes all which dares resist its course;

Cruel, yet kind—creating but to kill;

A thing to worship glad—a thing to hate;

Sweet pity blended with ferocious will;

Intensely loathsome, and sublimely great;

Awful, most beautiful; most mad, most sage;

A melancholy monster, grim with age,

Order magnificent in flames and stars,

Dark, hideous tyrant in men's pangs and scars;

Why should we flatter thee, Eternal God

With abject homage? Can we break thy rod

By prayer or by promise? Why should we not

Be heroes—and submit, bear our bitter lot?

By none but heroes can't thou be adored.

No craven heart to Thee has ever soared.

Let us be truthful, frank, ne'er name Thy name;

But when our instincts longing for Thee, flame

Blessing or cursing, God, Thou art no lie,

And Thou abhorrest man's hypocrisy.

To us Thou art a mighty, mystic joy,

When to be grandly brave is our employ.

VI.

Ever, Oh! God, Thou me repellest;

Ever, Oh! God, to Thee I draw near;

Forth from the darkness as Pity Thou wellest

How swiftly all is cold, gloomy and drear.

(2.)

Why do fools call me a foul blasphemer?

I love Thee a thousand fold better than they;

A bruised, a tortured, a baffled dreamer,

Only in rapture and faith can I pray.

(3.)

Doubter I am not. I am a believer;

Though Man's crazy figment I cannot believe,

And thou Dreamer, art not a deceiver,

Though Man's creeds and crochets and cants deceive.

(4.)

Thou and I fondle and fight each other;

Rough playmates, why should we not fondle and fight?

Thou smotest sore, sweet Jesus, my brother;

Why shouldst thou not me far more fiercely strike?

VII.

My yearnings ever

Go forth to thee;

But abysses sever

Thee, God, from me,

And I marvel where thou, my life, cans't be.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE LOWELL RADICAL CLUB.

Lowell is a cesspool of mammon, ignorance and superstition, yet, there are a few Free Thinkers even here. A society has been organized with the above name, the object of which is to make it possible for all persons, so disposed, to think and speak upon all questions of public interest, as inclination may favor.

We mean business; we meet every Sunday. We exhibit the old theology in all its deformity; we intend to present the woman question in all its various phases; and we intend to examine the present vicious system of finance in such a manner that the common people can see their way clear to a condition of things which shall make it possible for men and women to live without the fear of the poor-house haunting them from January to December.

The WEEKLY is my Bible. God speed you—if there is any God. May the angels assist you—if there are any angels, and which to my mind is of more importance than all things else, may live men and women begin to work for themselves in such a manner as shall make it impossible for the tyrants and loafers to absorb all the wealth of the world.

I desire that all your readers in Lowell shall know of our Radical Club, in order that we may work together for the good of each other and the cause of humanity.

Yours, for free speech,

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Published by the Equal Rights Party.

RATIFICATION.

GRAND RALLY AT COOPER INSTITUTE.—On Thursday evening, June 6th, at 8 P. M., the grand meeting to ratify the nominations of the Equal Rights Party, which was shut out of the Grand Opera House by the lordly despots who preside over its destinies, will be held at Cooper Institute. The most eminent speakers of the Party will be present and address the audience. Let the "lower millions" who are fleeced by the "upper ten" every year of all they produce, come together and take council as to the methods by which they shall secure to themselves what they now furnish to "idlers" to revel in.

THE PRESENT NECESSITY.

Action everywhere by everybody is the urgent, present need. All souls living in the sunlight of full freedom must buckle on the armor of faith, and go forth to do battle in its sacred name. The time has come in which no excuses can be admitted to be valid. All consideration of self must for the time be laid aside for the broader considerations of humanity. The blow that is to be struck—the battle that is to be fought is for them as a whole, and noble souls cannot afford to be simply self interested during the conflict. While the present movement is and must, to a large degree, be spontaneous from the hearts of the people, yet organized action should not be overlooked. By its use inspiration may be utilized and made productive of two fold good. In every town, village and hamlet in the United States, Victoria Leagues should spring into existence, by and through whose means the educational process may be made more expeditious and efficient. The Equal Rights Party proposes to supply all demands made upon it for Campaign Documents, several of which are already in print and ready for distribution. And it is confidently expected that the present large demand for them will grow to such immense proportions as to guarantee that every family shall be supplied with the evidence for the necessity of the new party movement.

CAMPAIGN CLUBS! CAMPAIGN CLUBS!!

Let every present reader of the WEEKLY, whose heart is involved in the success of the principle of all-sided freedom, use every possible effort to extend its circulation. While we are confident that many only require the suggestion, to incite them to action, still we make the following inducements to all: every person who will send us the names of three new subscribers, either for six months or a year, accompanied by the money for the same, shall be entitled to one extra copy for a like time; for six new subscribers and the money, two extra copies, and so on an additional extra copy for every additional three subscribers and advance payment. In this way, if our readers will show a zeal commensurate with the cause in which they are engaged, the circulation of the WEEKLY may be increased by these means alone, to three hundred thousand numbers; and this, in turn, would win the campaign without other assistance. It should be remembered that we cannot do all the labor. Friends everywhere, in this stage of our affairs, should lend a willing hand.

Dr. Frederic R. Marvin lectured last Wednesday evening to an audience of over 700 people in Newark, on Immortality. Dr. Marvin is spoken of as a polished writer and accomplished scholar,

OUR PLATFORM.

The first proposition which the Apollo Hall Convention enunciated, includes the whole scope of the new party movement. It is as follows:

"That there should be a complete reconstruction of several of the most important functions of the government of the United States, and to that end we advocate the adoption of a new constitution, which shall be in perfect harmony with the present wants, interests and conditions of the people."

We are perfectly aware that even some of the most radical of reformers hesitate to move forward when the proposition meets them that the Constitution requires remodeling. But these same people are the most forcible advocates of certain radical reform movements that are, under the present constitutional prohibitions, utterly impossible. How then do they propose to accomplish their purposes? If the whole Constitution were to be changed, it could be a no more radical movement than was that which culminated in the Fourteenth Amendment, the full scope of which is not yet fully apprehended except by a few comprehensive minds. We cannot see it to be a very terrible affair to change the Constitution when that instrument itself provides the manner in which it may be done. Its founders evidently foresaw that many of its provisions would not meet all the requirements of a progressive people. They knew it would have to be changed, and undoubtedly realized that it would be in the direction now pressing upon public attention.

It would be charging upon them a non-comprehension of the principles involved in the Declaration of Independence, to say that they who conceived it, even imagined the Constitution to be an expression in form of those principles. No broader or more comprehensive formula of individual freedom can possibly be made than is made by it. The pursuit of happiness is asserted to be an inalienable right of every individual. What more can be added to make it more general? If the rights there set forth are indeed inalienably vested in the individual, we ask if it should not be the first, last and only purpose of the laws formed under their inspirations to secure them to the individual? To this there can be but one answer, and every person, of sound mind, must see it at once. The purposes of the Equal Rights party are not merely to re-enunciate those self-evident truths, but they are more especially to secure their vesture in the individual, and to protect their exercise, which heretofore has never been attained.

To accomplish this, it is found necessary to proceed as set forth in the first plank of the platform put forth at Apollo Hall. Nor do we see why such action should shock any person who is more humanitarian than wedded to the old customs rapidly going to decay. The matter that ought to receive consideration and to determine those who are in doubt as to what course should be pursued, is whether an improvement upon the old is not possible; and if it be found to be possible, should there be any hesitation on the part of any reformer?

Everybody knows that the late war arose from the fact that the Constitution was indefinite in expression regarding the inalienable rights of individuals. Had their been no such want in that instrument; had it been clear, definite, positive; in fact, had it not have been in the first instance a compromise with slavery, that war had not occurred to devastate the beautiful face of this beautiful country and water it with the blood of its noblest sons and the tears of its loveliest daughters.

Shall we now stand still and permit another war to be precipitated, to still further enrich our soil by such blood and tears? No! a thousand times no! Rather let us, while peace exists, bring to bear the best talent of the country to forestall war and rob it of its victims.

The reforms contemplated by the Equal Rights Party, then, should be judged by their inherent value, and not by the manner in which it will be necessary to accomplish them, even if it be found necessary to substitute an entirely new instrument for the blood-stained and the tattered one of the past. And to those who shrink from such action we beg to bring to mind the words of the poet, James Russell Lowell, written more than twenty years ago:

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires; we ourselves must pilgrims be:
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate winter's sea;
Nor attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key."

But in spite of the poet's warning the future was attempted with the blood-rusted key of the past, and the result was the debt we are burdened with, and the blood that was shed. Let that terrible crisis be a lesson to us of the present, that no such thing come again upon us!

OUR NOMINEES.

These are Victoria C. Woodhull, the woman; and Frederick Douglass, the negro.

In the ninety-sixth year of the Republic of the United States, they represent classes, who may justly be termed, even yet, the pariahs of our modern system of civilization.

In the nomination of Victoria C. Woodhull for the office of President, the Equal Rights Party virtually arraigns the despotism over woman as exercised in this Republic, as being, in this particular, more intolerant than that of the monarchies of Europe, and points those who dispute this statement to the long and beneficent rule of another Victoria cheerfully submitted to by the people of Great Britain.

In the nomination of Frederick Douglass for the office of Vice President, the Equal Rights Party proposes to set the seal of the nation on the issues of the war of the rebellion; to exhibit to the world that our people are a unit in the defense of the rights of all mankind; and to reset the Government on the

right track, which has heretofore been traversing the tortuous windings of the slavery compromises of the first Constitution.

In order to effect these our purposes it has been found necessary to take our stand on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which declare the rights of all human beings, and rest all just governments on the consent of the governed.

The Equal Rights Party has selected Victoria C. Woodhull for the office of President, because it deems that the demand for the personal, social, legal, and political liberties of woman have been better advocated by her actions and in her speeches and writings than by any other woman. Religious liberty is not mentioned above, because it is held that, in the case of woman, it has not been specially infringed. It is claimed as a right pertaining to all the people; one which the Equal Rights Party holds itself pledged to maintain against any national or State interference with (or infringement of) in any way whatever.

The Equal Rights party has selected Frederick Douglass for the office of Vice President, because—though born a slave—he has himself achieved both his education and his liberty; because he has waged a life-long, manful battle for the rights of his race, in which those of mankind were included; because he has proved that he knows how to assert the liberties of the people, and consequently it is assumed that he knows how to maintain them.

In conclusion, the Equal Rights party has nominated Victoria C. Woodhull for President, and Frederick Douglass for Vice President, because, by so doing, it hurls a gage of defiance to the despots and aristocrats of Europe, who have long pointed the finger of scorn at our Republic in the matter of slavery, and condemned it as lacking the will to carry out fully the principles of true democracy contained in the Declaration of Independence; and it calls upon all the citizens of our Republic, irrespective of sex or race, to unite with it in reasserting the truth of the doctrines laid down by our fathers in 1776, and sealed with their blood in the war of the Revolution.

THE PEOPLE'S CAUSE.

The cause of the Equal Rights Party is, indeed, the cause of the people. Scan its platform and its principles as you may, and the most critical mind and the most disposed to find fault and to make charges of party and personal ambition will be able to see no possible point of which it can be said that selfish purposes or personal ambition is the inspiration. Every plank points directly and unmistakably to equality for all the people, and in no single instance will it be possible when success has crowned its efforts to pervert its purposes to individual ends. Beginning with a distinct indictment against present governmental customs and practices, it continues throughout to treat upon the principles that underlie a true humanitarian system, and which, when incorporated into an organic law, will insure to all people what our fathers intended for them when they penned the Declaration of Independence.

It is true this movement makes direct war upon certain existing facts; equally true it looks to the overthrow of certain existing things. But that is no objection against it, unless it can be made to appear that such facts and such things are in accordance with the principles of equity which should govern the intercourse among mankind. Any existing thing that cannot stand the severest test of that rule ought to and will be done away with; and it is the mission of the Equal Rights Party to see to it that no law shall be left standing upon the statutes of this country that, even by a shadow, militate against complete justice, in its most perfect sense and application.

Nothing can be plainer to comprehend or more evident even to the casual observer, than the proposition of property equities, that whoever possesses a larger wealth than he himself produced, has obtained it from some person or from numerous persons who did produce it, and for which he could not have given proper equivalent. This is a self-evident statement, requiring no proof.

Now, our entire industrial and property systems are based upon the fact that the accumulated wealth of the country is in the hands of those who did not produce it, consequently is unjustly held. It may be argued that they have paid or rendered legal compensation to the producers; but that does not affect the question of equity which is involved in the present movement. There is no difference in the result between a system of despotism which would permit one man in every ten to hold the other nine in industrial slavery, so far as their property is concerned, and the present system which permits one in every ten to acquire all the other nine produce. The difference consists in the system only, and the latter is accompanied by a great deal more demoralizing influence than the former.

Despotism is that condition in which one person, or one class of persons acquire bold and wield a controlling power over other classes, which makes them occupy unequal conditions. Now it matters not how that result is arrived at, whether by the power of brute force, by the means of an unjust system of laws or by the power of intellectual superiority, it is all the same. In either case it is the power possessed by one class, ruling another class and subordinating their rights and interests.

We are aware that only a few persons, speaking comparatively, have awakened to the truth about this question. Most people have no conception of any despotism except that of the absolute monarch which holds both life and property subject to caprices of his will; but we ask such to consider this fact; if life and property are taken by other means, are they not equally despotic and unjust? And after considering this, then to look over society to-day, and everywhere see both life and the products of labor being surrendered in compliance to the inexorable demands of our present systems and customs.

But is it said that we have no business to raise and agitate this question, because those who are its objects do not appreciate the condition, or the miseries they suffer. To this we reply we have the same right, and the same duty to perform that the abolitionists had, when they agitated the freedom of the from the physical bondage in which they were held. They no more realized the deep damnation of the condition in which they lived, than do many of those for whom we are now agitating. All humanity is not devoted to purely selfish motives. Many hearts aches to see the wrongs which are inflicted and which are suffered, unconsciously as it were by the victims; and with the instinct of a universal brotherhood predominating, they raise their voices against them; and they will not say there is peace or justice until they the idea of injustice shall have been awoken in every soul where now it is dormant.

They who raised the question of freedom for the negro, did not labor for personal elevation. They like Christ, labored for their fellowmen. It was not a matter that could be turned to individual ambition. It was a matter in which the interest of humanity were involved. So, too, is the present question one which cannot be made the hobby for personal ambition. It is one in which even more than in the former the interests of humanity are involved since the number of persons whose interests are at stake is immensely larger than in the case of the negro.

In a special sense then is the movement of the Equal Rights Party the cause of the people; and although not as yet recognized by them as a whole, it must soon come to be so recognized; as the movement for the negro came to be recognized as being for humanity. In fact, by the nomination of Victoria C. Woodhull and Frederick Douglass it asserts the culmination of the former revolution and connects it with another advance in civilization, in which the more subtle interests of the people as a whole are involved—with another involving not merely a certain race of people but the entire female sex of all races, as a sex, as well as the major portion—the industrial classes—of both sexes.

In this latter sense the Equal Rights Party makes the demand that shall, when answered, usher in that condition in which the people of all races, tongues and climes may become assimilated into a community of brothers and sisters, having a common origin and prophesying a common destiny.

AGAINST SYSTEMS, NOT INDIVIDUALS.

While the Equal Rights Party claims that the rich unjustly hold the wealth that has been produced by the poor, and that the results to them is the same as though it had been stolen still it does not war upon individuals for having stolen it, but it does war upon the system of law of which they make use to obtain it. It is the system that steals it, and the majority of the people are responsible for its continuance, though it is true that this majority do not realize either that the result depends upon them, or that it is as iniquitous as actual theft.

Hence the cry that the Equal Rights Party in assuming an attitude of defiance against the government becomes treasonable, falls to the ground as the merest pretence. Nothing that looks to the establishment of justice can be treasonable. In the words of Charles Sumner, it declares that "anything for human rights is constitutional;" and if a system has grown up under the constitution which is against human rights, it is evident, either that the system is unconstitutional, or that the constitution is itself defective—that it does not strictly adhere in all its parts, to the principles upon which it professes to be builded. In either case the warfare that is to be waged is against the system that permits the abuse of human rights, and not against the persons as individuals who have made use of it.

Nevertheless, the oppressions that have been builded by and which they assume belong to them, must be pulled down. And this the Equal Rights Party proposes to do until not so much as one stone shall be left standing that shall not be cast down. In so far as this may be denominated a war upon individuals, will the new party make war? It proposes to return to the people that which the present system of law has stolen from them. This cannot do any injustice to those from whom the spoils are to be taken. They hold and exercise a power that belongs in common to all people, and hence unjustly hold it. If this be taken from them and returned to those to whom it belongs, a duty instead of an unjust act is performed.

The Equal Rights Party says to the Astors, Stewarts and Vanderbilts of the country, "you have what thousands of people have toiled all their lives long to produce, and you must return it to them. In compelling you to do this, no injustice is intended, but you are required to do justice to those by whose toil you have profited, since what you hold over and above what you have equitably earned by your labor, you have unjustly taken from those who did thus equitably earn it."

It is not proposed to do you any violence in compelling the restitution. You have acquired what you have by legal means. It is determined that by the same means it shall be restored; and timely warning is given of the intention, so that when it shall come you cannot say it was not anticipated."

The Equal Rights Party further proposes never to give over action so long as any person anywhere in the world, who has health, strength and mind, shall be able to exist from the toil of another, be that person king or peasant; and further still, that the king, if such there shall still remain, shall earn no more by his labor in administering the law, than shall the peasant by tilling the soil, or herding his sheep. Equal rights, equal opportunities and equal compensation is the watchword that is sacred in every soul which has devoted itself to the cause of equity; and it shall never be supplemented so long as it lacks consummation.

THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE GAG.

It is questionable, if, indeed, there is any real difference between the overbearing tyrannies that existed in past ages, when monarchs ruled by the mere caprices of their wills, and the intolerant spirit of present conservatism and party despotism which ostracize everything new in the evolution of principles into practice. Nothing that ever occurred in the early dawning of liberty, in the most despotic country was a better exemplification of the overbearing spirit of class rule than was the recent shutting of the Grand Opera House against the Equal Rights Party for the ratification of their Apollo Hall nominations. Rented of the Lesses for the express purpose, almost at their own suggestion, it was advertised in various ways for more than a week. But the owners, the Erie-Ring, said to be under the influence of the Greeleyites, learning what was proposed, came forward, and put their veto upon it, which was maintained against all expostulation it was possible to bring to bear upon them—"No," said they, "not for ten thousand dollars could a ratification meeting of the Equal Rights Party be held in the Grand Opera House. It was not built for the classes of people who constitute that party, to hold their meetings in. It would damage the house irreparably." and other even more brutal and offensive language which we will pledge them the workingmen and women of this city and country shall not forget. If these "petty things" of the hour imagine they can cast such insults in the very teeth of this vast element, with impunity, we can assure them that they do not know the temper of the people with whom they play. A day of reckoning will surely come, as it has ever come to all who have dared the toiling, down-trodden masses, who if they have not had the present deciding power, have ever held ultimate sway.

Every possible method was used to inform the people of the necessary change in the programme; and on the evening the ratification was to have taken place two banners bearing the following inscription were taken to the Opera House:

"The Grand Opera House having been shut against the Equal Rights Party, the ratification will be held at Cooper Institute, Thursday, June 6."

These banners, respectful as it was possible to make them, were placed at the main entrances to the house, thus informing those who went there of the change. But this very lenient statement of the case did not suit the Dignitary of the place, who ordered them taken in; which was done. On their being demanded, he said "those things can not be paraded about here." He was assured that they would be paraded up and down before the house; which they were, in spite of all his bravado and bluster; and he was powerless to prevent it—his capacity to "lord it" being confined to the walls of the Opera building.

If those honorable (?) gentlemen think they have made any capital by this proceeding, they are welcome to its use; but if we were to venture a prophecy we should say they have made a venture that some day will prove to have been not a profitable investment.

That the Equal Rights Party should be met by such opposition at its very inception proves what we have been saying all the while; that such a movement is absolutely necessary to stop the tendency to a more despicable despotism than ever enslaved a people.

VICTORY IN DEATH.

It is the proud boast of our Republic that after having subdued a rebellion unexampled in magnitude and at an unprecedented cost of blood and treasure, it scorned to sully its victory by taking any "ex post facto" vengeance on its discomfited opponents. There is no circumstance of the kind that can be found in the history of the world which can bear comparison with the magnanimity displayed by the people of the United States on that occasion. In ghastly contrast to this leniency, future historians will place the barbarity that has been exhibited by the Bourbons of Versailles, after the late victory, which (aided by the armies of the Emperor of Germany) they succeeded in achieving over the republicans of Paris. For considerably more than a year the black flag has waved over that ill-fated city, and the mournful music of the death shots of Satory, almost every returning week has proclaimed to a horror stricken world the terrible vengeance of damned despotism.

The vanity of this effort to drown liberty in its own blood is well exhibited in the heading of the following "special telegram" which was published in the N. Y. *Herald* of the 26th ult:

EXECUTION OF COMMUNISTS—RADICALISM UNCONQUERED AT THE RED POST OF SATORY.

PARIS, May 25, 1872.—Perisier, Boon and Boudin, the three men who were tried on the charge of participation in some of the most outrageous acts committed in this city during the reign of the Commune, and convicted and sentenced to death, were executed this morning at Satory. They exhibited no emotion whatever at the last moment, and died crying "Vive la Commune!"

Yes; "Vive la Commune!" is still the word. From the ghastly horrors of the modern St. Bartholomew's days of the Baracades to the present time, men, women, and even children have never ceased to bear dying testimony to the truth of the cause for the defense of which they have been called upon to suffer. Unquestionably their heroism is producing a profound effect. People are beginning to ask, is this the end? Can it be that there is no higher tribunal before which the "Quilps" who now ravage France and horrify mankind will be dragged to justice? A similar question was put to this country in 1851, and the reply of the Democratic Senate was, "that there was no higher law." Ten years after came the sentence and the execution. Assuredly a similar act of justice will be meted out to the pres-

ent ruling powers of France. In spite of Germany, in spite of Thiers and the bourgeoisie, a people who can boast such a vitality of virtue are bound to exist—to triumph. It needs no prophet to foretell that, in the near future, educated by experience and chastened by affliction, the people of Paris will again be destined to take the lead in establishing on a firm basis the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

THE VICTORIA LEAGUE.

The Central National Committee have adopted the following form of organization for the various sections of the Victoria League:

We, the citizens of _____, _____, form ourselves into a political association to be called The Victoria League, No. _____, for the purpose of promoting and establishing in action among the people of this country the principles of the Equal Rights Party, adopted at the National Convention, held in Apollo Hall, New York, May 10 and 11, 1872, and electing the nominees of that party to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States; and we hereby pledge ourselves to do all we honorably can to effect such purpose, in auxiliary connection with the Central National Committee, Headquarters in New York.

The above is all the form of organization necessary, and these who desire to become workers in the common cause of Equality and Justice, may begin without further delay, making such rules and regulations as may be deemed requisite in each particular case.

Let the work begin in real earnest. Remember that this cause is a holy one and worthy of the utmost devotion and sacrifice; but when success shall have been attained, that political strife will be forever ended.

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT NO. 1.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT

OF THE

NEW EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY.

BY J. Q. SANDS.

In the past, the instinct of man was for blood. War was the business of his life. Labor might do for a hind or a woman, but man was dishonored by any occupation less noble than cutting his neighbor's throat. As between the two methods of acquiring property, industry and robbery, the latter was wholly noble, the former, wholly base. But all natures are not brave and fierce. Some are cowardly and cunning. These found congenial occupation in priesthood. So, between robbery on the one hand, and extortion on the other, peaceful industry ate its black bread with tears.

The kings and nobles owned everything in fee simple and by divine right; but they allowed the priests to take their share of the spoils, in consideration of their assistance in imbuing the minds of men with the idea that eternal torments awaited all who raised their voices against the kingly power.

In the intervals of war, when blood did not flow in rivers, it gently trickled from the writhing forms of myriads of martyrs for the amusement of priests and kings. That day is past; martyrdom has gone out of fashion; and war, while it is to a limited extent the pastime of crowned heads, as a game more exciting than the chase, it is beginning to be regarded as—well, as having some drawbacks.

Our own sins are certainly not on so grand a scale as our fathers'; but then they are meaner, which goes a great way toward making up the difference.

The feudal system, after being banished from the earth, still exists in the heavens, and men suppose they get so much protection for so much service. Their Chief, too, has plenty of dungeon-room, nicely heated, and also a patent contrivance by which he can roast his victims without the disappointment of having them die, so that he can regale his ears with their shrieks forever.

The followers of this Chief are sustained through life by the pleasant thought that they shall some day banquet with him in the upper rooms, where they too shall, in the intervals of singing psalms, be delighted with the screams of their neighbors, parents or children, suffering endless torments down below.

The priest still, without shame, grasps the mite that belongs by right to the widow and the orphan, and thunders his objurgations mostly on imaginary sins, while he rings the praise of imaginary virtues.

The great object of life is nothing nobler than the possession of a large house, filled with ignorant servants. Finding one house no satisfaction, people who can, usually try two or three, thus seeking relief in the multiplication of their follies. Women have a noble ambition to excel each other in the length of their mirrors, the number of their dresses or the amount of false hair or tow which they can pile on the top of their heads. To accomplish these most notable results, men delve, lie and cheat from the cradle to the grave, and so unaccustomed are their faculties to any rational employment, that when they are deprived of their habitual occupation, life becomes a burden, and they not unfrequently go and hang themselves.

Woman usually has one master, who, possessing her person and owning her children, holds absolute power over her, and not unfrequently renders her life one of absolute torment by abuses of various kinds. Careless of his own vows, he punishes a suspected breach on her part with death to the offender, and instead of being punished is usually applauded. The instinct which leads to the continuance of the race, is, or is considered to be, such a demon that, for its sake, all the sweet, social inter-

June 8, 1872.

course of life is ruthlessly put down, and men and women confine each other to the dry husks of an association, the deep disgust and terrible hate of which not unfrequently culminate in murder. As every one suffers in this terrible state, all society is organized into an army of spies to see that there are no happy exceptions, and this system of despicable espionage and unwarrantable interference with the simplest rights of others is called Virtue.

The brotherhood of man is so entirely unacknowledged, that where benefits are conferred, it is done with such an air of patronage that naturally the feelings of the recipient are outraged, so that sweet gratitude is a thing unknown. So blind are reformers, that, when the bodies of men and women are not literally mangled by the lash, it is thought that their work is done and it is time for them to disband.

Children come into this world undesired and unprovided for, and having no one to speak a word for them, are abused without stint; and it is only when some helpless innocent is beaten to death for refusing to say its prayers that any attention is paid to their cries.

In the schools and colleges, the pupils, seeing that the making of Latin verses is of but small account in this world, have taken to learning the art of rowing a boat, as something really useful; and realizing that they are to have no opportunity of cultivating their minds, wisely determine to develop their muscles.

In politics, England crushes India, France Algeria, Spain Cuba, Russia, Prussia and Austria have partitioned Poland, and no opportunity is lost in asserting the great principle that power is the only virtue and weakness the only crime.

The whole world is arranged upon the great Bible principle that to him who hath shall be given, and to him who hath but little it shall be taken away, even that which he hath.

Possession of person or property is everything; abstract justice, nothing.

Everywhere a venal press and a depraved pulpit, having lost that sweet and blessed privilege of defending the outraging and whipping of women, and the stealing of children in African slavery, content themselves with supporting similar institutions in our midst, while they howl their vengeance upon all the good and brave who dare to say a word in defence of the weak and suffering.

What may the future have in store for us? Let us hope that in the good time coming, the great object of life will be not the acquisition of wealth and power for base and selfish ends, but rather that each shall make it the business of his life to see that happiness shall be the assured portion of all. The question trembling upon every lip will be: Brother, what lackest thou? Is it the opportunity to use thy talents; is it sympathy with thy aims; is it companionship; is it social life, or is it present need of food, clothing, or shelter? In a word, let us hope that Altruism will succeed Egoism, and we shall witness the dawn of the Religion of Humanity.

LABOR'S SOLILOQUY.

(After Hamlet.)

A public—or no public? That's the question!
Whether 'tis nobler for us still to suffer,
Or to arise against a sea of scalawags
And boot them out of office. To vote—to rule—
No more. And by a vote to say we end
Red-tapery, and rings, and lobbying,
And all the other villainies. 'Tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To vote—to rule!
And by our ruling to let daylight in
The cranks and crannies of the Capitol,
And drive the bats, and owls, and carrion birds,
To roost in the recesses of the past,
And vex our souls no more. Why should we give
These pests and do-nothings a longer life?
Why should we bear the whips and scorns of knaves,
The rule of Mammon, and of National Banks,
Land-hoarding, and railroad insolence,
When we ourselves might their quietus make
With paper pellets? Why should we starve and toil,
And sweat in cooped-up holes and filthy dens,
Prisoned and slaughtered in vile city slums,
Denied of air, and straitened for the light?
Why should we? Why? Because we are at odds,
And will not trust each other. This has ruled
Our toilers from the legislative halls,
And placed a clique of lawyers there instead.
The dread of politics, and Washington
(That pestilential city, from whose bourne
No honest man returns) puzzles our will,
And makes us rather bear the beats we have
Than coin more knaves by sending others there.
But, let us hope, our day of suffering's past;
And that, despite of all—the public lives.
That, rising in its majesty and might—
'Twill cut the soldier, tweak the farmer's nose,
And place Victoria Woodhull in "the Chair."

STRAY SHOTS.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.—The successful Labor Strikes of the present Spring are indications of future triumphs. We clip the following from "Result of the Labor Movement," a leader of the New York *Herald* of May 22.

"We have unquestionably entered upon a new era, when the principles of political economy at present in vogue will be trampled under foot. Though the indications at present are not very threatening, there is coming rapidly a time when labor will enfranchise itself by the means by which it has been enslaved. The influence of the masses—and they are the workingmen—begins to be felt in all free countries, and is everywhere diverted to the one object. Knowledge is felt to be the real source of power, and the people thirst to acquire it,

They feel that they have been oppressed and brutalized by the old system of labor, and they seek to overthrow it. But social emancipation is always more difficult to obtain than political freedom, because so many interests grow upon abuses."

The end and aim of the Labor Movement is to secure to the producer the results of his toil. The land system, the money system, the law of inheritance, and the system of distribution, oppose this right. These are all outgrowths of our present system of political economy, which, in the near future, as the *Herald* asserts "will be trampled under foot." After that, a new system of true political economy will be evolved (which will only recognize traffickers and financiers as salaried agents) built upon the conservation and extension of the rights of producers.

DRED SCOTTISM.—There are those who argue that, if Victoria Woodhull were elected President, the Chief Justice might refuse to administer the oath to a woman. This is absurd. In this country a majority has rights which the Chief Justice is bound to respect; and, it is assumed, that that functionary would fulfil his duty in the case with as much dignity as the late most Reverend Father in God, His Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, performed his duty toward Victoria in Great Britain.

LIBBIE GARRABANT.—The death penalty, as applied to the case of this miserable girl, has called forth much comment from the press. The New York *Herald* had a leader, on the 20th instant, upon the subject, in which it appears to admit women as malefactors to full citizenship, and hang them. The *World* is more lenient. For ourselves, as the special advocate of woman, at all times and under all circumstances, we think the outcast child ought to be sent to a reformatory and her right education commenced, and that "Society" ought to be hung in her stead, for neglect of duty in her case.

A PLEASANT PROSPECT.—The man who leaves his son a million of dollars bequeaths him at least three hundred and fifty money serfs in the next generation; and this gift may endure forever. Whose children are they to be, neighbor, yours or mine? If we would change this, we must elect Victoria C. Woodhull.

EFFECT AND CAUSE.—The N. Y. *World*, in a leader headed "The German Pentecost," says:

"The American drinking-saloon and billiard-room and concert-hall have a certain reprobate and unregenerate aspect, even when they happen to be conducted by decent people and frequented by well-behaved customers. They bear the stamp and impress of a position rather outside of the established pale of respectability, and men weighty on the exchange would rather not be seen frequenting them. Not so it is with the German resorts of relaxation and refreshment. No man hesitates to enter them; no man is compromised in the eyes of his countrymen by entering them."

Why, neighbor? Because they are sanctified by the presence of woman. To use the language of the greater Edmund Burke, under her eye, "vice itself loses half its evil, by losing all its grossness." Is it too much to hope that that which, according to your own statement, purifies lager beer saloons, will purify our polling-places also? When our mothers, wives, sisters and daughters vote, they must and soon will be made fit to vote in.

BIBLICAL BRAWLS.—The Methodist Conference has made another effort at settling and unsettling the "much vexed" question of the Bible in the schools. Last Tuesday, the 20th inst., "the Committee on Education reported against the expenditure of the State money for denominational schools, and in favor of reading the Bible in all public schools." There was once a four-legged committee that made a similar report. It was a cow. It yielded a good pail of milk, and then kicked it over.

POWERFUL STRONG.—Dr. Slicer, commenting on the above, is reported thus: "He was for the Bible in the public school, first, last and always. He wished the scriptures without note or comment. He wanted no comments by the teacher, whether standing on his feet or kneeling on his knees." We cannot go this last statement. As Dr. Caius would say, "it is affectations." Besides it is not strong enough. Does not Dr. Slicer know that a jealous young disciple would have his say, if, in order to do so, it would be necessary for him to stand on his head or kneel on his elbows.

HEAR THE ENEMY.—The value of electoral suffrage is thus depicted by the N. Y. *Herald* of May 23:

The true safety of the colored men of the South lies in the fact that they enjoy political rights and now are a power in the land. Their votes will be wanted by aspirants to office, and as soon as the Southern States are left entirely free under the operation of a general amnesty law the colored citizens will find as many as warm friends in the South as naturalized citizens now meet with in the North. Political parties in the Southern States will then as soon think of excluding a negro, on account of his color, from any of the privileges enjoyed by a white man, as political parties in New York now think of excluding an Irishman or a German from the Common Council on account of his nativity. Indeed, the chances are that political honors will before long be forced upon the colored citizens of Florida and South Carolina as liberally as they have for years been forced upon the Irish-born citizens of New York.

If such are the effects of political liberty in the case of the negro, what would they be in the case of woman?

JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—The *Daily Witness* of the 20th inst. contains the following:

Notwithstanding the strenuous objections made to licensing the social evil, it seems to have a beneficial result in St. Louis. The decrease in the number of abandoned women is stated at forty-five per cent, during the past year. It is said that this

excrecence on the body politic cannot bear publicity, and dwindle away beneath it."

This is good, but it is an injustice to the lords of creation. What has man done that he should be deprived of his share of the benefits of this great legal virtue factory? Let St. Louis license her male prostitutes too, otherwise, we fear, there may soon be a social evil revival there to set her back.

THE MODERN GOSPEL.—We find it in another extract from the same paper:

The whole faculty at Ann Arbor, Mich., are now in favor of the joint education of the sexes, their experiment in this line has worked so well. The young women in the university now number sixty-three, and most of them came from New England.

There is no mistaking this; it is a genuine advance. We go our pile on man and woman, or girl and boy, against either sex taken separately, at any time—from babyhood to old age—and at any place—from a church to a lager beer saloon.

A MODERN INQUISITION.—The papers inform us that the Rev. Dr. Huston is on his trial for licentious conduct before an ecclesiastical court. The New York *Herald* terms it "A Star-chamber investigation." The trial is conducted with closed doors, but it is fair to assume that, if found guilty, he will be handed over to the secular arm, as was the custom formerly in Spain. It is not wise, in an ecclesiastical organization, to interfere in any way with the regular course of justice. Secret transactions of such nature may be methodism, but assuredly they are not Christianity. Let us hope that the majority of the members of the church will be heartily grieved at the above-mentioned proceeding.

SAMSON GRINDING IN THE MILL.—The N. Y. *Herald* of May 23, reports the following:

WENDELL PHILLIPS SPEAKS.

Mr. Cummings had an interview to-day with Mr. Phillips, in which the latter talked very plainly upon the present aspect of national politics, and committed himself to Grant in preference to Greeley, although it is more than likely that he will not vote for either candidate.

"You know," said Mr. Phillips, "that I am neither a Republican nor a Grant man; who I shall vote for, or whether I will vote at all I do not know, but certainly, as against Greeley, I am for Grant."

From the tenor of the conversation there is hope that Mr. Phillips will see that there are other candidates in the field—both of whom have life-long claims upon his well-paid services—for surely never a lawyer before received a higher retainer than the blessings of four millions of freemen. True, the nomination of Victoria Woodhull may not be deemed legally expedient—or that of Frederick Douglass certain of success; but there was a time when the words "expediency and success" were not to be found in the dictionary used by Wendell Phillips.

CHRISTIAN COURTESIES.—Although we may feel glorified in learning that the "equal rights" movement has already penetrated even into the uncivilized parts of the Union, it is plain from the following notice that the Indian is not prepared to admit the equality of woman, it being too advanced an idea for him yet to entertain.

"Spotted Tail" indignantly denies that he authorized the association of his name with that of Victoria C. Woolhull on the Presidential ticket. The following dispatch has been received from him: "Woodhull squaw! Ugh! Me no run!"

Our readers may surmise that this extract is taken from the *Sensation* or the *Days' Doings*, but they will be mistaken. It is from the *New York Witness* of the 26th ult. The same paper also contains the following item:

According to a gifted correspondent, when the women entered the Cincinnati Convention, "Susan glared aggressively through her baleful spectacles at the assembled thousands, and Laura trailed the honey of her smiles behind her."

"Baleful spectacles" and "trailing honey," together with the free and easy familiarity of "Susan" and "Laura!" A gifted correspondent indeed!

THE WISDOM OF THE SERPENT.—The Lessors of the Grand Opera House, after having agreed to rent their theatre for our Ratification Meeting, and fixed a price for the same, have thought proper to back out of their engagement. It is reported that this has been done at the request of the relict of the late Col. James Fisk. If so, the Equal Rights Party owe her a vote of thanks for the compliment. In the days of old, danger and death followed the setting up of the Ark in the camp of the Philistines.

TIRALLEUR.

TO VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

BY MRS. L. E. DRAKE.

It is not all of life you know,
To dwell encased in this poor mortal form
Below. To sip the pearly dews of youth's
Bright morn, or, long in after years to bear
The cold and pelting storms.

It is not all of life
To shine by borrowed light, or wrong the true
And innocent for selfish ends, to wear
Ill-gotten gains for public show, or, for
A pretence publicly in meekness bend.

It is not all of life
To wear the victor's crown won on the field
Where only cowards fight, whose sable mark,
The light of truth shall rend, and justice bring
Their trades to an end.

Then if they tell thee all that's true
It is but just, and you will not complain
But if some scathing tongue with lies may scar
Your name—O fear them not! The mark will fail
Then theirs will be the shame.

POLITICAL.**SHAM REPRESENTATION,**

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Republican State Convention ignores Goat Island, indorses President Grant, and has instructed the California delegates at Philadelphia to vote as a unit for his renomination.

The press of San Francisco are unanimous in denouncing the Goat Island scheme, and all the leading papers of the State denounce it as strongly as the San Francisco press.

That is, the people of California are nearly all opposed to the Goat Island Scheme, but the representatives all voted for it. The people of California are so opposed to every description of subsidy that both the Democrat and Republican platforms have an anti-subsidy plank; yet a subsidy is carried openly through their Legislature.

It is pretended that political conventions represent the majority of the party; but while Californians are opposed to the Goat Island gift, without distinction of party, the Republican State Convention entirely ignores the job.

What sort of representation is this? Yet such is the culmination of the system of representing by Districts, instead of so arranging it that a certain number of persons will be entitled to a representative irrespective of locality. On the Dobbs plan of complete representation people can choose their own representatives, instead of having them chosen for them by wire-pullers. On the present plan, the ballot is a sham; and were woman franchise to become a reality to-morrow, intelligent women would be as little represented as they are now, and as intelligent and progressive men are now.

ALFRED CRIDGE.

LAND GRANTS, RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION, MAIL SERVICE AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

According to a statement published on behalf of the N. P. R. R., the average price per acre realized by twenty-five land-grant railroads has been \$7.04, ranging from \$3.07 to \$13.98. The value of the land grant to the railroad is at minimum rate \$178,000,000, which sum is said to be "more than twice the estimated cost of the road, as set forth by the most competent engineers."

The land-grant system began by giving six sections (3,840 acres) for each mile of road constructed, but have been increased until the road receives 12,800 acres (200 square miles) to each mile of road from Lake Superior to the eastern boundary of Dakota, and twice that quantity thence to the Pacific coast; at rough estimate this would equal a block of land 775 miles square, about equal in area to all the New England States and New York State.

At \$7.04 per acre the gross value of the land is said to be \$406,000,000; supposing the road, if constructed by the government, would have cost \$126,000,000 (which allows nearly \$4,000,000 for stealings and incompetency) Congress and President gave away what never belonged to them without any consideration (so far as the people are concerned) the sum of \$280,000,000 to this road alone! The company is paid \$406,000,000 for services valued by themselves at less than \$90,000,000!

Now let us see how a completed land-grant railroad performs its work. On the Central Pacific Railroad forty-three miles of substantial snow-sheds have enabled traffic to be entirely uninterrupted, while on the Union Pacific it has been blocked about six weeks thus far for want of such precautions. Had the government constructed and run the railroad, instead of paying a company about twice the value of the work, besides virtually furnishing the capital by guaranteeing its bonds, is it likely that provisions against a snow blockade would have been so inadequate, or that, if neglected, there would have been such utter failure to provide for the temporary transportation of mails and passengers over the snow belts? Public opinion would have compelled other precaution or remedy; but what cares a land-grant railroad for public opinion? No more than it cares for the views of the "King of the Cannibal Islands." It is an *imperium in imperio*, an idol which the people permit their pretended representatives to set up in their midst, before which they must prostrate themselves and pay tribute—they and their children and their children's children.

Even the welfare of shareholders is, as in this case, entirely subservient to the schemes of individual plotters. So intent has been the controlling influence (said to be Boston politicians) in preventing the construction of the Texas Pacific that the means which should have been invested on snow-sheds have apparently been expended in the endeavor to control a rival.

It appears, too, that such railroads and many others are not reliable for mail service. Constructed almost entirely by the people's money and credit, they will make no contracts for carrying the people's correspondence, but are paid annually for such services as they see fit to render, the Postmaster General having no option; thus California mails have been delayed a month, when had both mails and transportation been controlled by the government they would not have been delayed two days, as the "snow belt" has not been generally over two hundred miles in length.

The programme of the International Workingmen's Association in regard to the control by government of various business enterprises has been much ridiculed; but here are cases in point which indicate that all enterprises which are, and in their nature must be, monopolies, can be conducted by the agents of the whole community more economically than by those whose superiority consists not in any superior capacity of overcoming natural obstacles as for conducting a large and intricate business enterprise, but who simply have the means and astuteness to control votes in Congress.

If a person owning real estate should leave an agent in

charge during his absence to collect rents and regulate occupancy, and that agent should sell or donate such real estate without authority of his principal, the title thus conferred would be invalid, and the occupants would be accountable to the owner. Congress has thus abused its trust as agent of the people to whom the *ratification* of these grants has never been referred; and it will be among the first duties of the Equal Rights Party to recover for the people the real estate out of which they have been swindled.

ANTI PROCRUSTES.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE VS. SOVEREIGNTY OF LAWYERS,

OR "POPULAR" AGAINST "PROFESSIONAL VIEWS."

Does the Constitution of the United States secure to the people of the United States the rights which they declare it to be their object to secure, when they separated themselves by revolt from British rule?

If the decisions of Justice Carter and Sharswood and the opinion of the Senate Judiciary Committee are taken as authority, it does not, for it does not secure to more than one half of the people representation or the right of self-government, and the denial of that right by the English government was the overshadowing complaint of our revolutionary ancestors; they regarded the denial of that right as the denial of all rights.

Let it not be said that it was no part of their object to secure that right to women, for with them the right was considered as inherent, and therefore they made the general declaration, that all men are created free and equal (using the word men in its generic sense) and endowed with certain inalienable rights, etc. That to secure the rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

And inasmuch as women freeholders were as much entitled to vote as men by the common law of England, it cannot be supposed that it was any part of their object to change the political status of women to their disadvantage. But we must rather conclude that they would extend rather than restrict their right and make it a personal instead of a property right, for they had already called God to witness that the right was inherent, by declaring that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." I know it is said by some that the right to vote is a natural right, but, at the same time, they admit it to be the means used under our laws for the protection of natural rights. If life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are natural rights, then the right to use the means to protect them is also natural.

Says Mr. Livingston in his penal code prepared by authority for the State of Louisiana:

"But, when the right is given, the means to enforce it, must in natural as well as positive law, be admitted to be also given." Thus if the ballot is made the means of self-protection, there must be a natural right to use it. If there is anything that distinguishes our government from others, it is this republican or self-government theory. It is the doctrine that "just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed."

This is the grand central truth in the science of government, and we claim that it is the controlling and vitalizing principle of our government, the supreme ruling authority with which all laws and constitutions must be made to harmonize, or to be adjudged by the country as void. This is the touchstone to which all judicial reasoning and construction must be brought; and any law which conflicts with the principle that the people have the natural right to govern themselves, or choose by ballot their law-makers is void; because it denies a right which is subversive of all rights—because it is opposed to that provision of the Constitution which guarantees to each State a Republic can form of Government, and that other provision which secures to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.

A Republican form of government is destroyed, when only one half, or even any portion less than all the people are allowed the right of voting.

Senator Carpenter, in his letter to Mr. Tilton undertakes to break the force of Mr. Tilton's argument, based upon the provision of the Constitution which declares, that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government, by saying that "the Constitution must be construed as it was understood by the people who adopted it." That is all true enough; but does Mr. Carpenter think that those people who had fought seven years for the purpose of founding a government upon the truths of the Declaration of Independence, understood that a Republican form of Government was one that taxed people without allowing them a voice in the government? or that it was one that reduced to chattel slavery thousands of men, after declaring all men created free and equal? If the debates which preceded the adoption of the Constitution furnish a key to their understanding of the definition of words used in the Constitution, (and that is the rule laid down by the courts, that the intention must be got from the words, for the people could have adopted no other) we must conclude that they did not so understand it.

Luther Martin one of the delegates from Maryland to the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, says, "They anxiously sought to avoid the admission of expressions which might be odious in the ears of Americans; although they were willing to admit into their system those things which the expressions signified." They must, therefore, have used expressions which conveyed a different meaning from the one intended by the framers; but the meaning which the words truly conveyed must govern, for that is the only one which it could be supposed the people adopted; and their intention and not that of the framers must govern. Take an example of the understanding of the words *service* and *servitude*. In Article 1 Section 2; on motion of Mr. Randolph, the word "servitude" was struck out and "service" unanimously inserted, the former being thought to express the condition of slaves, and the latter the obligations of free persons; and the same word "service" was used again in the so-called "fugitive slave clause," and ought to have controlled the construction of that clause. And again in Article 4, Section 2; the term "legally" was struck out and the words "under the laws thereof" inserted, in compliance with the wish of some, who thought the word "legally" favored the idea that slavery was legal in a moral view.

Again, Mr. Carpenter thinks the Courts, under the old Constitution, would have held that the state governments were republican in form, although females were not admitted to suffrage. Very likely! and what if they had? It would not have been the first error of courts. In England the "professional view" and "judicial reasoning," for a longer period than our government has existed concurred in the opinion that slavery was legal in England; until the decision of the Sommerset case, in which it was settled that a slave could not breathe on British soil.

And some Mr. Carpenter of that day might have said, if slavery has been legal for so many years, it is now; but it

seems that it was then decided to be illegal, and, therefore, it was illegal before, and had never been legal. And so we say, the States have never been republican, and it remains for the United States to fulfil the guarantee.

I have no doubt that our revolutionary ancestors had as true and correct idea of republican government as any one now has; but, like us, they failed to practice according to their creed.

For nearly a century the theory and practice of our government has been strangely at variance. Adopting as our political creed the freedom and equality of all men, we practiced for more than eighty years the most cruel oppression; professing to believe that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, we continue to deny to half of the governed the right to vote, which is the only way that their consent can be expressed.

Mr. Carpenter admits that women have always been citizens; and he thinks it safe to say that down to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment the Supreme Court would probably have held that the right of franchise was secured by that provision of the Constitution which declares the citizens of each State entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States, and that also had the Fourteenth Amendment stopped with the first section, the right of all citizens to vote, male and female, black and white, would have been secured. Now if the first section secured the right of females to vote, the second could not be construed into an acknowledgement of the power of a State to deny the right to vote to females; for it says nothing of the kind, but expressly restricts it to males. If the wording had been, when the right to vote shall be denied to a portion of the citizens, &c., his construction would at least have had the virtue of being plausible; but it does not, as he says, recognize the right or power to exclude a portion of its citizens from the right to vote, but a portion of the male citizens. A portion of the citizens is indefinite, and might mean any portion; but the section as it reads is definite and confined to males.

Again Mr. Carpenter says: "If, by the fourteenth amendment, the elective franchise had been secured to every citizen, the fifteenth amendment would have been wholly unnecessary." And we reply, if the first section of the fourteenth amendment secured the elective franchise to all citizens, black and white, male and female, as he says it would have done if the amendment had stopped then, the second section of the fourteenth amendment, as well as the fifteenth amendment, was wholly unnecessary, and all it proves is, that our Congressmen who framed the amendments were "dullards," and so they failed in the second section of the fourteenth amendment to secure their object to enfranchise the negroes, and had to make a fifteenth amendment in order to accomplish their design; and then failed in that, also, if, as Mr. Carpenter says, the States may now deny the right to vote for *any cause* except race, color and previous condition of servitude.

Once more, Mr. Carpenter says: "The fifteenth amendment was not intended to repeal the fourteenth," but that they must be construed together; to all of which we assent, and add that if there is any conflict or ambiguity, that portion which secures right and justice must govern in the construction.

The following is a rule adopted by the Supreme Court, and we believe it a reasonable one:

"When rights are infringed, when fundamental principles are overthrown, when the general system of the law is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such object." We would therefore make the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment control the construction of the second section, because the effect of the first is to establish justice and secure the object for which the amendment was made, and also the object for which the whole Constitution was ordained, by securing the inherent right of the elective franchise—the corner-stone in our political fabric, the fundamental principle in our government—never to be ignored or denied; and whenever a law is passed effecting it, and especially seeming to deny it, it should be construed strictly; and if the language will bear a construction saving the right, it should always be given; nothing should be taken by implication—the innocent construction which will secure justice is the rule.

Whereas if the second section is to control the effect of the first, and is to be construed as Mr. Carpenter understands it, justice, the object of the amendment, and a republican form of government are all defeated. And that is not all. The decisions of the courts as to what rights are included in the "privileges and immunities of citizens," and the legal and standard lexicographies definition of "citizen," is disputed and overthrown. Verily, "professional views" can accomplish wonders.

Finally, Mr. Carpenter says: "You may say, and I admit, that this is taking a professional rather than a popular view of the question."

Now, we assert that it is the popular view which the people necessarily adopt, and it is therefore the binding one; if not, the whole ceremony of submitting constitutions and their amendment to the people for their adoption is a farce.

And if our most sacred rights are to be submitted to the test of Senator Carpenter's "professional views," we can only say, "the good Lord save us."

C. C. DRAKE.

OXFORD, Feb. 11, 1872.

A CRITICISM.

CATAWBA COUNTY, N. C., April 30, 1872.

EDITORS WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY: In your issue of the 27th inst., you copy from the *Morning Herald*, of St. Joseph, Mo.: "A woman of good common sense and courage on the opening of the polls on the 18th inst., offered her vote as an elector of the Third ward, and was challenged by the so-called Democratic members of the Board of Inspectors, etc., and was rejected," and goes on to say, "the Democrats claim to be in favor of progress and reform, but their works and votes have always, without an exception, been opposed to them. They fought against the colored man and his descendants, and if they had not been defeated by the bravery, perseverance and better sense of the Republicans, would still have held him in slavery and ignorance. And now they turn their meanness and spleen upon the white women of the land—the mothers, wives and sisters of the gallant men of the United States—and deny them their God-given rights at the polls." This does not seem to me in accord with the principles of progress and human rights so ably advocated in your popular journal. The article in question would show the writer and the Democratic inspector alluded to, to be men of the same calibre; both equally possessed of narrow-minded bigoted party prejudice. The one setting forth the so-called greatness of the Republican Party; the other ignoring the true prin-

ciples of Democracy. Is it just to condemn every intelligent Democrat in the nation for the acts of one citizen of St. Joseph, whose knowledge of the principles of Democracy is, no doubt, as limited as the locality in which he resides? Who can study and clearly understand the great principles of that party as laid down by its founders and say that those principles are opposed to human progress? Who that is free from party prejudice, will deny that, during the reign of the true Democracy in this country, there was not more freedom of thought and action, more freedom of speech, more religious freedom, more actual prosperity enjoyed by the people generally than there is to-day? Again, who will say that more venality, more corruption in high places, more reckless squandering and pillaging of the people's means ever existed or was tolerated in this or in any other country than exists to-day North, South, East, and West under the administration of the party controlling the destinies of the United States at present? or who will deny the necessity of some great reform movement that will drive from hence all that is corrupt, rotten, and debasing in any and all political parties, be they Republican or Democrat, and that will unite the great, the grand, the true, and patriotic hearts of all women and men in the country, that she may be made what nature destined her to be, a land of liberty in its fullest sense; a refuge; an asylum for the patriotic, progressive hearts of all nations, wherein they may enjoy full freedom of conscience, and where the people can rise above the petty prejudices and false teachings of a set of clerical humbugs, who are a greater stumbling-block in the way of progress even than the politicians? I wish your convention of the 9th of May success. I wish the convention of the Liberal Republicans success. I wish all those reform movements success, and wish to see them all united in one grand effort to redeem the nation as the first great step towards that progress and regeneration which you so ably advocate. And lastly I heartily wish your WEEKLY success.

J. B. U.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

We give to-day a brief report of the meeting in favor of female Suffrage at the Hanover-square Rooms on Friday evening last. The advocates of the cause have reason to be satisfied with the progress they are making. When 160 members of the House of Commons, including the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, vote for what is called the public emancipation of woman, the movement is certainly one that is not to be treated with contempt. It was stated at the meeting above mentioned that in the course of the four weeks preceding the division in the House on the 1st of May, 346,000 signatures were added to the petition for the passage of a Woman Suffrage Bill. We suppose these signatures comprised both male and female names, and probably a majority of the latter. The agitators of the movement are very active, and are making house-to-house visitations throughout the United Kingdom. Men often respond favorably to the appeals of the fair canvassers from a feeling of gallantry, while women freely give their names under the vague impression that some great benefit will accrue to their sex when they are permitted to take an active part in legislation.

We have of late been pelted with pamphlets, circulars, and special communications, urging the *Cosmopolitan* to espouse the cause of the better half of humanity. Of course we are with them heart and soul whenever and wherever they show us wrongs to be righted, impediments to be removed, complaints to be answered, grievances to be redressed, or "gentle wishes long subdued" to be fulfilled. We never regarded woman as the inferior sex. On the contrary, both in physical and moral beauty, the ideal woman is far superior to man. To quote the rhapsodic tribute of one of our western orators: "Woman, as a mother and a sister, is man's best friend; as a wife and a sweetheart, she has few equals and no superiors." But we are speaking of the true, the genuine, the unsophisticated object of our adoration; not of the false, the fickle, and the vain, whose aspirations never soar above their chignons, and whose only ambition is to ensnare and betray men. Wordsworth's picture of womanhood has been to us a perpetual fascination:

A being breathing with thoughtful breath,
A traveler betwixt life and death;
A creature not too bright and good,
For human nature's daily food.

Is this the type of women who clamor for political suffrage? Does the contented wife and happy mother write Jeremiads to the newspapers about her "wrongs"? During a long period of journalism, in which we have been the recipient of many domestic confidences, we have not found this to be the case. Satisfied with her husband's devotion, absorbed in her maternal joys and cares, Wordsworth's "perfect woman" never feels the want of voting. We hear nothing from her lips but that sweet home-song whose burthen is love, and whose melody is Heaven.

We can fully understand the supreme content of the beatified wife who recently shocked one of the strong-minded sisterhood by declaring she "didn't want any rights." And yet, we say, let widows and spinsters vote if they will. If they possess the requisite property qualification, we see no harm in their having a voice in the election of Legislatures that impose taxes. This, we believe, is the principal object of the present agitation. The right of woman to sit in Parliament is only asserted by the most advanced, the most unfeminine, of the strong-minded. Surely Mrs. Fawcett does not wish to sit in the House of Commons either by the side of, or in opposition to, her husband. As for the executive offices of the State, women, as a general rule, are not well qualified to fill them. Only the other day, in one of the Western States of America, the court had to be suddenly adjourned in consequence of the female Judge being "confined" with twins. Such a judicial accident would be very awkward in a case like the Tichborne's, for instance.

As for what is called "enlarging the sphere of woman," none but a brute would oppose it. Let all public indoor offices be filled with women. Give her the post-office, the telegraph and the treasury. She can assort letters, manipulate the wires, and add up figures as rapidly and as accurate as a man. It is a shame to see stalwart men selling ribbons and laces in Regent street, while their poor sisters are selling themselves for bread outside on the pavement. We go still further and say: Give woman the pulpit and the sick room. She is a gentler nurse, and a better guide to Heaven than man. Who have not often thought of the "churlish priest" with the brother of poor Ophelia;

A ministering angel shall my sister be,
When thou liest howling,

In conclusion, we venture to suggest that women, as well as men, have duties as well as rights. While we would not rob them of one title of the latter, it strikes us as more becoming in woman to occupy herself with her duties than in quarreling about her rights. At best this perpetual clamor for "rights" is aggressive and selfish; while she who only seeks the performance of duty wears her white robes of beneficence with "something of an angel light," and wins the victory she may not command. And so let us close our little lecture with a conciliatory "sentiment" for—

Woman, whom God created with a smile of grace,
And left the smile that made her on her face.

THE COSMOPOLITAN, 111, Strand, May 16.

A PROPHECY.

A brave, hearty old fellow said on the street, the other day: "These grey hairs are destined to keep floating over my shoulders till the workingmen's ticket sweeps the States." And so I begin to think how such a radical advancement could be accomplished by comparatively *sub rosa* measures. The composition of the press, its proprietors and directors particularly—mere editorship having resolved itself into a profession, men accepting service as scissormen and scribblers for bread and beef—are in harmony with the prevailing status. The formula, every man has his price, has, save in a few notable instances, been accepted by the press in the most literal and disgusting sense, rendering the newspaper unprogressive, mercenary and venal. Shall I accept the gray-haired prophet's anarchy? Good God! the comparative anarchy that must attend a consummation so shivering to the established, is awful to contemplate. Yet it must come sooner or later. The flat has gone forth that justice shall assert itself. A system supporting privileged classes is a solipsism, be these classes the result of individual enterprise or existing in the composition of the Society or the nation; they are artificial, and progress exists but to extinguish solipsisms. Mind is converging in this: We have been in the hands of the educated long enough—at least, long enough to find that to be learned is no guarantee for the possession of common sense, a quality which alone can govern to general acceptance. A man may be the president of a college, and not be able to see an inch before his nose. To trust to the educated has been the peculiar delusion of the ages. Justice is a plain thing. It says:

I am, you are; we both sustain the same relations to the external world; claims to living therefore ought to be equal; I having no more than my share, you receiving none less. The German barbarian who with his battle-axe shivered the vase, rather than give it to his commander, did well. The large-share is no man's right. The absurd disposition of the spoils that so long prevailed, originating with the first distorted glimmerings of civilization, has been the central cause of society's miseries. And out of it have grown the hydra myths which have driven men into the confusions of war and kindred scourges; and may, in this Geneva arbitration question plunge two nations into war again. Let the dead rest. He only is deserving who proves himself well. Aristocracy of birth belongs to the deepest hell of society. Away with the folly among the myths! Select as many cool-headed, ordinarily educated workingmen from the nations, as have been drawn from among the "distinguished" to settle this ugly International difficulty between England and America, and a consummation would soon be reached satisfying to all but diplomats and politicians, fellows eternally disappointed having had no hand in. The workingmen, freed from the embarrassments of "national honor" and kindred humbug, and anxious only to mete out even handed justice would make quick work of it. All such missions should be undertaken without a flourish of names, and with compensation no higher than the current wages of the good mechanic, with expenses. The best way to simplify is to cut down prices and strip honor from ordinary performances—and what is not ordinary when properly regarded?

Ah, I am afraid my gray haired friend will 'prove a watery prophet. The day of miracles is past. No positive progress can be attained until the popular idea of God is winnowed from public regard, and a healthy substitute, evolved from science and common sense, takes its place. Darkness and cowardice encompasseth us about. The Bible, as interpreter between the spirit of the universe and mankind, must be flung among the frauds of the ignorant past or read only as the mythological scribblings of ancient people. A religion founded upon a figment so utterly ridiculous as Adam's fall and its consequent atonement in Christ's death, is a prostitution of the mental element which demands devotion as a fulfillment of religious duty, and is an impediment to the realization of my gray haired friends prophecy. These men can say as he does:

I've met no God, bloody and mad, mad at man's sins,
In clustered mart or on the crowded highway,
By the sea shore or in the woodland's by-way;
No power but ignorance or poverty to win
Men from fair Justice, mid the world's din.

Then his prophecy will be accomplished.

J. M.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Sorry indeed that our citizens were not all out to hear Mrs. F. A. Logan last night. She is an easy speaker, and her lecture was grand.—*Waupaca Republican*.

MRS. MIDDLEBROOK AT LIBRARY HALL, ITHACA.

On Sunday, February 19, Mrs. Anna M. Middlebrook spoke in Library Hall, afternoon and evening. To those who have not heard Mrs. M. we have only to say that she is a talented lady, a fluent and earnest speaker, and has drawn large audiences in this as in all other places she visits.

By the use of the famous Halford Leicestershire Table Sauce, your soup, fish and meat are made more delicious and nutritious. Every person who uses the Halford is its proper reference. Physicians heartily recommend its use, for they know it to be made of choice material,

MISCELLANEOUS.

A FEMALE SUWARROW.

[From the N. Y. Herald.]

The correspondence which we print below is as singular in its tenor as anything that has ever been printed in the columns of this journal. For two years past two women of the same family have managed in this city to attract—by a very gratuitous system of advertising—the attention of all persons to their every word and action. Of the two the elder was some days since nominated to the Presidency of the United States, by a convention whose proceedings cannot be treated as otherwise than a joke by any sensible person. To-day we print as below the offer of the younger sister to become a colonel of one of the best disciplined regiments of the New York State National Guard—an organization known for many years past as the "City Guard," and formerly composed of our best citizens and old Knickerbockers:

NEW YORK, May 6, 1872.

DEAR SIR—I understand that the colonelcy of the gallant Ninth regiment of the National Guard, made vacant by the death of James Fisk, Jr., still remains unfilled; also, that there are as yet but two candidates for the position—Jerome B. Fellows and Robert G. Gregg—both of whom are men of respectability and wealth, but it is to be seriously questioned if such qualifications only can recommend them to the regiment. Fisk had wealth, youth and brains. Under his guidance the regiment rapidly took rank in the first division as one of the most efficient bodies of men in the service. His men partook of his spirit and dash, and each one felt the inspiration of his genius.

I protest that it would be a wrong to the memory of the dead leader to select as his successor any one who lacks the magnetic influence he possessed over his soldiers—securing their love and admiration, and communicating their enthusiasm to the general public. It would be an impediment to the further advance of the regiment to permit such a selection. In fact it would be a blunder, and the great captain Napoleon I., declared a blunder to be worse than a crime.

Your connection with the Grand Opera House brings you in social contact with the committee having the matter of the selection of colonel in hand. See the gentlemen, please, and tell them I will accept the position, and pledge myself, if elected, to give such an impetus to the recruiting, that in thirty days the Ninth regiment will be the foremost in the State.

There can be no objection to me, save that I am a woman. Permit me to remind those who urge it that Joan D'Arc was also a woman. While I do not make pretensions to the same military genius she possessed, I may state that it has always been my desire to become actively connected with the service, and have always gratified a passion I have for studying its rules and tactics, in which I am well versed.

I have no doubt that this communication will at first sight occasion incredulity as to my intentions, but permit me to assure you I am deeply and forcibly in earnest in the matter. Yours, very sincerely,

TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

TO JOSEPH H. TOOKER, Manager Grand Opera House.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE, May 6, 1872.

MADAM: Captain Augustus Fuller, I am informed, is chairman of the committee having the recommendatory selection of a Colonel for the Ninth Regiment in charge. I can do no more than place your communication in his hands. I am not a member of the organization, and, therefore, have some delicacy about urging any candidate upon the committee. Very respectfully,

JOSEPH H. TOOKER.

TO MISS TENNIE C. CLAFLIN.

A MESSAGE FROM THE DEAD.

The Bangor *Commercial* prints the following as a fact:

A former resident of this city some years ago moved to Cincinnati and went into business there. Some time since as he was on his way to his place of business at his usual early hour in the morning, when going past a side street, one which he had never had occasion to use, he distinctly heard a voice which said, "Go down this street;" but, not being of a superstitious turn of mind, he continued on his way for a few blocks, when the impression grew so strong that he retraced his steps and went down the street indicated by the voice. He had gone but a few rods, when the voice again said, "Go in there;" he looked and found himself opposite a small third-rate hotel. Going into the bar-room, which opened on the street, the first sight that met his astonished eyes was the bartender holding up a coat of a peculiar cloth and color for the examination of a small knot of idlers. He at once recognized the coat as belonging to a friend of his whom he had last seen in Maine during his visit home. Upon making inquiries, he found that his friend lay dead in the house, and finding that there was an evident disposition to plunder the valuables and clothing of his dead friend, he took charge of the body and saw it properly buried, and the property sent home to his mother. Had it not been for his remarkable warning the dead man, dying among strangers, might have gone to the dissecting room of the medical college, and his effects to heartless thieves. What makes the story the more wonderful is that the gentleman had no idea that his friend was in the city.

CONTEMPT OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE STATES.

(Vide Art. I, Dem. Rev. Jan. 1858.)

BY HORACE DRESSER, LL.D.

(IV.)

Does the State of New York, under an act of its legislature, by its Comptroller, give, issue, or deliver, to be used as money, as a medium between men and their transactions of trade, barter, commerce and exchange, to any individuals, companies, or banking associations which shall comply with that provisions of the act, notes, bills, or paper sheets which are to take the place of coin or money, bearing the signature of the State officer, and without which the emission, the issue would be worthless, and the bills receive no credit in the current of affairs? Wherein these articles particularly differ from the defunct continental paper of Congress under the confederation, or the outlawed or branded bills of credit of the States in that period of our national existence, may be ascertained with all certainty by those whose antiquarian researches shall prompt them to a collateral comparison of the respective issues. In law there is no difference. The state now, as it was then, is the propagandist of a paper currency which it knows to be spurious when tested

by the Constitution, and which it knows is forbidden by its express language, under all circumstances whatsoever, no matter if the Comptroller have deposited with him as securities for the issues, stocks, bonds, mortgages, etc., in value and amount *ad infinitum*. The prohibition is absolute and without qualification. But the State is a political entity, incorporeal, and can not be punished for its high offence against the peace and dignity of the United States and the prosperity of the people. It may be persuaded, perhaps, to retrace its steps and to repeal its unwise and unwarranted edicts; if not, its acts can only be dealt with according to law in the courts. God speed the time when the one or the other shall have been done! But it is folly to hope for relief in the courts. The several departments of the State governments are conjoined and go hand in hand in the wrong-doing; the legislative passes the bill, the executive approves it, and the judicial adjudges its proper legislation; and all this occurs in the face of constitutional negation and in fraud of the pledges and covenants entered into with each other.

What if a State shall persist in sending broadcast over its own territory not only, but over the whole country, these false and sham substitutes for money, and nothing be done by citizens or officers to eradicate the evil or redress the wrongs! This State legislation, which has so long set at defiance the national will as evinced in the prohibitions of the Constitution, needs a corrective in some quarter. Where is the remedy? It has been suffered to go on year after year until it has grown to be a public calamity, and *vires acquirit eundo*. Can it be abated by any department of the Federal Government?

It is impossible to deny that the general banking law of the State of New York, and its use by the people thereof, bring the State into the category of contempt of the constitutional inhibition not to emit bills of credit, if to emit notes payable on demand, and which, according to the act, companies and individuals may loan and circulate as money, is a proceeding to emit bills of credit. It is safe to say it is so—they are in fact bills of credit issued by the State. These emissions of notes to loan and circulate as money are the well marked progeny of the State—they are things that belong to Caesar; they carry on their face the image and superscription of their parentage—they are countersigned and registered in the bank department of the office of the Comptroller. Is the State guilty or not guilty of a breach of covenant—of political faith?

What is that which constitutes nullification—is it not disregard and defiance and contempt of the Constitution, or treaties, or laws of the United States by one of the States? Is there any power to coerce a refractory State into obedience to its Constitutional stipulations? A former chief magistrate of the United States, the lion-hearted Andrew Jackson, the hero-president, believed there was such power in the General Government, and that it was lodged in the Executive Department. The ground for his belief is seen in those portions of the Constitution which declare that it and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under its authority, are the supreme law of the land; and that the President is bound to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. This duty being incumbent, he boldly took the responsibility, and made proclamation that the Constitution must and should be preserved. Were the State acts against which he thundered forth his declaration more disturbing of the peace and prosperity of the nation, or less loyal, than the creation of a currency never contemplated, but expressly forbidden, by the Constitution, and its introduction of the exploded system of paper money once more among the people, by States from which the whole matter of Currency was withheld? Nor did he confine the exercise of the power belonging to his Department to bringing States into line of duty to the Constitution—the Federal Government also had departed from the path of rectitude which the Constitution had made the highway for the march of its greatness. Since its abandonment of the unsatisfactory Articles of Confederation, and its organization under the present Constitution, it had once transcended its powers in this behalf. It had given charter to a company known as the Bank of the United States, with liberty to make and pass into circulation their paper money as a medium. This corporation he deemed an extra Constitutional institution, and consequently not entitled to the favor and confidence of his Department. His removal therefrom of the Government deposits is an act memorable in history, and may be considered as the first and fatal blow of the Hercules which Providence raised up to destroy a monster more mighty than the Hydra of the Peloponnesian Lerna.

This bank was a creature of Congress; it had its being, not as State banks have theirs, in face of positive inhibition, but in the absence of any grant to Congress of power to charter it not only, but to permit the emission of bills of credit; a thing which the general Government could not do by or through any of its departments, and hence was unable to impart to another that which itself had not. It was shorn of this function by the surrender of the old bonds of union and a neglect to continue it under the new ones; the States were stripped of it, not by neglect, but by intentional restraint. The method to be chosen to destroy the United States Bank would undoubtedly call for some other instrumentality than the summary one suggested in regard to those of the States, which are so plainly violative of the supreme law of the land.

It is as proper—it is as legitimate for the State of New York to establish a mint and proceed to coin money from the precious metals, making a hard-money department or bureau in the office of the Comptroller, as to establish a bank department therein, and to impose upon that officer the duty of countersigning and the registration of paper-sheets and of the emission thereof, to be used as money. Why may it not have its mint in which to coin gold and silver to be used as money, as well as its factory in which to countersign and register printed and pictured bills of credit to be used and circulated? Indeed, if a State may emit bills, may it not nevertheless coin money because it has not as yet attempted the act? And may it not be done with impunity when it shall be attempted—where is the power to hinder it when the time comes to do so?

DEPARTURE IN SPIRITUALISM.

We looked earnestly but in vain for evidence of more than worldly wisdom in political science among Spiritualistic mediums until after the advent of the WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN WEEKLY, since which we have not looked in vain. Previous to its advent capital ruled in the spirit world as in this, and departed statesman said nothing worthy of the period or of themselves; little or nothing was uttered of which to our mind Beelzabub might not have been the author, but since, humanity at large and the cause of the defenceless has been defended and the most unpopular truths advocated and good will to man has appeared to bear sway. In the old school there was little if any more hope for humanity than in the various religious sects of the period. Let us, therefore thank God and take new courage.

T.
Ohio, April 24.

[CONTINUED.]

EMMANUELO;

OR,

NEWS FROM THE NORTH POLE.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

"I'll show thee every fertile inch s' the island;
Pray you tread softly, that the blind mole may not
Hear a foot fall. We now are near his cell."

CALIBAN.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE ISLAND OF EMMANUELO—SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS PECULIARITIES IN FORMATION AND CLIMATE—SINGULAR NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL MEANS USED FOR THE COMPUTATION OF TIME AND VIEW OF THE WATERS OF THE ISLAND.

Emmanuelo, or Inmanuelo, is an island in the Polar Sea, nearly circular in form, of from ten to eleven and a half geographical degrees, or from 690 to 800 miles in breadth. The parallel of latitude 94 degrees N., encloses the whole island. It cannot be said to have any longitude; for New Jerusalem, the metropolis, or measuring city, stands on a plateau or table land lying between the Magnetic Mountains, and is the exact apex of the globe. To it, therefore, there is no North, no East and no West; all places on the earth being, in regard to its position, due South. To remedy this, and locate the cities on the island, distances in longitude are usually measured from either of the four ports, Joppa, Mizpah, Jaffa, or Sidon; from either of which they can easily be calculated. Although the natives of Emmanuelo are not acquainted with the Copernican system, they have long believed their central city to be the pivot of the world. From tradition they have also had a vague idea of a land beyond the regions of eternal cold, because it is mentioned in the sacred writings. But so lost in the distance of the ages were the histories of their forefathers, that, before we landed at Joppa, in 1851, it may be said, the people had no better idea of the world beyond the Arctic Circle than we have of the inhabitants of the moon.

There are some singularities peculiar to the island which it is necessary here to notice. First, in regard to its formation. It rises perpendicularly out of the ocean like a pillar of rock. It has only two naturally formed sea ports, Mizpah and Sidon; Joppa and Jaffa being artificial. Except in the two former, which stand on large friths, or small bays, formed by the widening of the mouths of the two large rivers on the island, within a fathom or two of the land the depth of the sea has never been measured. To this formation is attributed the equable temperature of the island, where frost is never seen save on the summits of the mountains, and where the summers are never distressingly hot. This pleasant equilibrium, it is supposed, is maintained by the warm deep sea waters, which well up around the island, and constantly flow from it southward. Accustomed to this delightful climate, the natives are very susceptible of cold, and he is considered a traveller who has seen from a far distance the ice walls that girdle his world. At sea, so rapid is the change in the water from tropical heat to arctic cold that it is believed that the thermometer would fall at least five degrees in a marine league south from Emmanuelo.

Another feature which distinguishes this country it owes to the peculiar position it holds on the surface of the earth. In it storms are unknown; its vessels never encounter what sailors term even a fresh gale. This is owing probably to the giant icebergs which stand a cordon of eternal sentinels around it. For this reason, and on account of the shallowness of the rivers, the ships are all made broad, with flat bottoms, imitating the form of the flat fish rather than that of the salmon. But notwithstanding this peculiarity they are very rapid. The Dorcas can easily lead our schooner into the port of Joppa with only one of her sails set; and often, since we have lived on the island, we have measured the speed of our craft with the vessels of our friends the natives, and have no reason to plume ourselves on such encounters.

To these a third may be added respecting the division of time. Although, on account of the position held by Emmanuelo on the surface of the earth, the year consists only of one day and one night; yet, both by natural and artificial means, the inhabitants are enabled to redivide those terms into regular periods for labor and for rest. In the long day, if so the era may be called in which the sun is visible to the inhabitants of Emmanuelo, certain obscurations appear upon its disc at regular intervals, which notify to the human beings and the lower orders of animals that inhabit there, that the time has come for repose. To the animal and vegetable world there existing, these are as marked as the approach of darkness is to the other parts of the globe. Nor is the long night of the pole a cheerless vacancy; on the contrary, it is a period set apart for special rejoicings. By a wise provision of nature, which in a measure compensates for the absence of the sun, some of the trees, many of the flowers, and almost all the vegetables used for food, are luminous. They emit their light at regular intervals also, thus carrying out the needed division of time into periods similar to those known to the rest of mankind. It was the silver light emitted by the rich market gardens of Bethel which first pointed out to us the land of Emmanuelo. Nor are these natural phenomena the only methods known by the people of the island for marking the minor divisions of time. In every city, town, and village, "Time Preservers" are appointed yearly, whose duty it is to strike a species of gong which is hung in the open towers of the temples. In the periods recognized as days, which usually consist of about twelve to fifteen hours, according to the time of the year, this gong is four times struck by those public officers. Setting aside the "Morning Call," as the first sounding is called by the people, this, it will be seen, divides the day into three parts; the first is called "The Body," and is set apart for physical labor; the second is termed "The Mind," and is employed in intellectual occupations; the third is christened "The Soul," and is devoted to recreations. Such is their theory, but it is not always followed. Some, like human beings in other parts of the globe, prefer to abuse nature by restricting themselves to one kind of toil, these to intellectual, those to physical labor; but such are considered innovators, one idea men, and their examples are held up to youth as warnings, and their wise men say such lives are never developed and should be shunned. It must be not inferred from the above statement that no time is set apart for moral duties, for here such are considered to be the great end of life. They more or less pervade every part of the day, but are considered as specially provided for under the head of "Recreations;" for, to this peculiar people, prayer and praise are not looked upon as tasks, but as amusements and delights.

So much for singularities; now let us return to the description of the geographical characteristics of the island. Its form, as has been mentioned, with only two large indentations, is nearly circular. The names of these indentations are, the Gulf of Mizpah and the Bay of Acre. As near as we could calculate from the charts we brought with us, the line of longitude 75 degrees E. of St. Petersburg would divide the former of these exactly, its form being somewhat similar in its indentations to those of the Northeast Cape, of which it seemed to be the counterpart. The Bay of Acre is situated

on the other side, and with it we are not so well acquainted. There are also several lakes in this country, some celebrated for the healing virtues of their waters. The largest of the former is Genesaret, which is about eighty miles long by fifty in width; it lies between eight and ten degrees to the northwest of Mizpah. Of the latter the most noted is Bethsaida, which lies in the department of Benjamin, the waters of which, during the summer season, are always in a state of commotion. The people flock there in large numbers during that period in order to bathe therein. Those who wish to obtain the full benefit to be derived from such baptisms, are required to take out door exercise on the hills that surround the lake. For this purpose games have been instituted, which are held under the sanction of the Supervisors of Public Amusements, who, by public request, permit youths to contend in them for prizes. The longest rivers are the Gihon and Euphrates. The former rises in the hilly country on the Western Hemisphere, about opposite Greenland, and flowing round the base of Mount Olivet, runs southerly, and discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mizpah. It is said to be eight hundred miles long, and it has four large tributaries. The Euphrates is nearly the same length as the Gihon, and discharges its waters into the Bay of Acre on the opposite side of the island, the line of longitude which besets the Gulf of Gihon dividing the Bay of Acre also, being in the Western Hemisphere, 105 degrees east of St. Petersburg. There are only two other rivers, which have the appearance of having cleft channels for themselves through the rocks for thirty or forty miles from their mouths; they also have many tributaries which is a feature in all the rivers on the island.

Emmanuelo is well watered: for, although the larger rivers are few in numbers they have many ramifications. There are also many minor streams which empty into lakes. All the waters abound with fish; there are also a few hot springs similar to those found in Iceland.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

A FEW THOUGHTS ON MIND AND MATTER.

WRITTEN FOR AND DEDICATED TO THE RADICAL REFORM CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA, BY VAN TRONK.

CHAPTER I.—RIGHT.

Did you ever dear reader ask yourself the question of what is right? It seems easy to be answered; yet if you try, you will find it beset with difficulties.

What is right? The theologian's say, that God's commandments as revealed in the holy scriptures, are right. But the scriptural text has been, and is subject to different interpretation, only one of which can be right. The legal standard of right is changeable, and does not furnish any criterion.

What then is right? Some answer, that which our inner voice declares to be right.

And what is that inner voice? With one it is conscience; with the other it is that peculiar non-descript feeling of "consciousness," which is indicated by the seemingly correctness of first impulses.

Conscience only admonishes, it speaks after the deed. The human mind preparatory to action, is so entirely entangled in the network of contending passions, emotions and considerations, that only a few are able to clearly discriminate and judge beforehand. But at the moment the act has been done, all these perplexing, intermingling and the judgment confusing influences come to rest, and we require the ability to criticize and judge our own actions. This criticizing and judging of our own actions is called the admonitions of conscience. The standard whereby we criticize and judge, is the right and wrong, as established by education and civilization.

With consciousness it is similar. The first impulses are not always correct. An infant has impulses leading it into pain or destruction. The first impulses of a savage are different from those of a civilized being, and the consciousness of a person raised in solitude will differ from that of a person reared in society.

Hence, even conscience and consciousness fail to tell us what is right, for a higher state of human development will establish a higher standard of right.

CHAPTER II.—LOGIC.

We human beings have no exact knowledge of what is right. All we can say is, that according to our education or civilization such and such is considered to be right. But the reader may ask, if we have no standard whereby to judge of what is right. We have such a standard to a certain limited extent. For just as mathematics lead us correctly over the ocean of physical phenomenon, so will "logic lead us through the depth of the abstract sciences. And sciences leads to truth, and truth is light." This seems a round about way, but it appears the only one open to us. The right absolute seems to consist only in the constant endeavor to do right.

And now, what is logic? Logic is the law of thinking. It is the invariable ruler of action of the healthy brain substance. The action of the brain substance is thought. The rule of action is the rule of thinking, and that is in all healthy brains the same. It is invariable.

The brain is a very peculiarly constructed organ, of which our anatomists know yet but little; and it fulfills a peculiar function, of which, also, we have but an imperfect knowledge. We know it to be the seat of sensibility and perception. It receives impressions through the senses, which modifies its structure. By means of this modification, we perceive: The more the brain substance is modified, the more it is enabled to reproduce the impressions received, to string them together and deduct laws and axioms therefrom. This reproduction of impressions is thinking. The stringing them together and deducting laws and axioms therefrom is reasoning; the brain can only reason after a certain mode or manner, and that is logic.

In the animalcules the brain is either missing or responds only in sensibility. Higher in the scale of animal life the brain grows more and more complex and reasoning commences, and this process of reasoning is carried further and further, until in man it becomes sublime.

But, dear reader, do not believe that the animal reasoning is different from our own. Thought does not begin with man. The higher class of animals think as well as the lowest class of man, and no line of nice distinction can be drawn between them. Logic rules both.

CHAPTER III.

Who is not struck with the similarity of human thought? Reading what the wise men of the ancient times have said, and what those of the present times do say, reminds one of the adage: that there is nothing new beneath the sun. We are advanced in technic, empiric and the adaptation of natural forces; but in the province of abstract reasoning we only move in the rut made ages ago. And could it be otherwise? As invariably as twice two has been four ages ago, is four to-day, and will be four in ages to come; just as invariably is the logical deduction that because "she loves me and I love her, therefore we must love each other." That ancient philosophers

came to that conclusion long before us, is but natural. They would not have been human if they had not.

Logic is the law of thinking. The faculty of thinking we call mind. The composition of the brain substance, its physical and chemical conditions govern the state of mind.

Examinations and observations have shown that the quality of the brain depends upon the presence of a certain phosphorized fatty substance, and the proportion in which it enters into the brain-pulp. Experience, study and reflections not only improve the mind, but change the structure and the composition of the brain itself, and increase its form, weight and proportion of phosphorized brain-fat. This intimate relation between brain and thought, this invariable dependence of the latter upon the former led to the knowledge that, thought is just as much the result of brain action as force is that of muscular contraction.

CHAPTER IV.—INNATE IDEAS.

Brain is the organ of thought and the slightest change in its structure or composition may either increase or decrease the power of thinking.

The human mind is a blank upon which the senses record their impressions. Repeated impressions lead to knowledge. The application of knowledge is wisdom. A child by experience learns to know that fire burns; but wanting further knowledge it will fear the fire reflected in the glass as much as the real one.

The development of mind is preceded by the development of the brain. And just as an increase in the force wielded by the arm must necessarily have been preceded by an increase of the muscular strength, that is an increased development of the muscles, so is the increased capacity for thinking a necessary sequence of a developed brain. The force of the arm and the development of the brain, both may be transmitted to the offsprings. The former appears as an inherited talent, the other as an inherited knowledge or innate idea.

CHAPTER V.—MATTER.

In the preceding chapters we used the word substance. It is defined to be: That which underlies all outward manifestations; that in which properties inhere. The word is synonymous with Matter.

Matter is whatever fills space. It surrounds us and is recognizable by the senses either directly or by means of instruments. But it is only recognizable by its properties, and without them it would not exist. The manifestations of these properties we call forces and the regularity with which these manifestations appear is what we call law. If matter disappears, forces and law would disappear too.

If matter is crushed until its particles cannot be reduced any further, we have it reduced to "atoms," for every such infinitesimal particle is called an atom. Now, matter enters into multitudinous relations, and develops into the most intricate forms. So is coal the same matter as the diamond; only in the former the atoms are lumped, while in the former they are grouped to form a beautiful crystal.

Let rock be exposed to air and its surface will wither. Out of the withered rock-dust buddens forth an almost invisible, tiny plant. The plant assimilates the rock matter, it lives for generations and by its life assists in the further disintegration of the rock. The potentiated dust of the withered generations of tiny plants surcharging the soil with nourishment. An aptitude for a higher development is created, and the tiny plant disappears to give room for a more complex vegetable creation. And so it goes on and on. The rock disappears, the vegetation grows more and more complex, until trees and beautiful flowers occupy the space of the disintegrated rock.

CHAPTER VI.—FORCE.

It is claimed that forces are independent of matter, and that they only need the latter to manifest themselves. Now, all space is filled with matter in different forms and conditions. If forces exist independently, they either must do so without space, or be equal to matter. But forces exist within space; they pervade the universe and penetrate into the most hidden recesses; and whenever matter is placed in a favorable condition, and it may be only for a moment, the forces instantaneously spring into existence and manifest themselves.

So is gravity a peculiar property inherent in matter. It always exists; but only if we bring matter into a proper condition it manifests itself to our senses by a force we call weight. Can weight exist independently of matter? Looking around us we discriminate between animate and inanimate creation, and the human mind, unable to trace the manifold and peculiar condition to which matter may be subjected, is led into the supposition of a peculiar life-inspiring force, and is considered to be a direct emanation of the Deity. But the vital force, like all the physical forces, is only manifested by the action of matter, and if conditions are favorable it springs into existence, and be it only for minutes. And finally, it is so entirely dependent upon conditions that it is optional with the experimentists to change its result. Let the reader take common table salt and dissolve it in water. If salt and water stand in a certain proportion, a peculiar animalcule will spring into existence. If the salt water comes in contact with an organic body, a peculiar plant will bud forth, and if the proportion of salt and water is altered by the evaporation of the latter, salt crystals will appear.

The above experiment leaves it with the reader, by a change in the relative quantity of salt and water, or the in conditions to create either an animal, a plant, or a crystal.

CHAPTER VII.—LIFE.

Oats inspire a horse; a good dinner inspires men, and manure inspires plants. But the hostler who feeds too much oats destroys the sight; too rich a dinner steals the energy of man, and too much manure kills plants. What we call life is a certain state of organic structure, recognizable by certain manifestations. In that state a constant change is going on. Living organizations, without distinction, constantly change their substance, although the external form may remain the same. What we call the phenomena of life is but the constant pulling down and building up; giving out and taking in of bodily substances.

Imagine that it be possible to form bricks, which constantly dissolve at the one end, and reconstruct themselves at the other; but so that they neither change their form, nor the space they occupy. Now, let a whole building be constructed of such self-destroying and self-renovating bricks, would there not be a constant change? And yet the building would remain the same.

Organic structures are such buildings. Human beings are such organic structures. The substance composing our bodies is constantly dissolved and reconstructed. The on-sweeping arterial tidal wave of the blood furnishes the building material, and the back-flowing venal wave takes off the debris.

CHAPTER VIII.—NATURAL SELECTION.

The observant reader has certainly experienced already a feeling of mercy, if placed in an uncongenial position. Immigrating to foreign climes may injure the physical as well as mental vigor, and it takes some time to adapt the constitution to the altered conditions. Of seeds grown under greatly diverging conditions only those will germinate which are the

products of similar conditions. Animals taken to foreign climes lose their breeding energy. Living organisms are dependent upon external conditions; change the conditions and a variation in the organism must occur, if the latter will not succumb.

But not only the climate will produce variations. The slightest variation of one organism will induce variations in all other organisms which depend upon it. Let it be presumed that a large tract of land be covered with one species of herb. In the course of ages the heaping dust of the withered herb-generations will slightly change the property of the soil, and thereby induce one plant to vary; so that it not only grows more vigorous, but also becomes tougher. The seeds of the new, more vigorous variety will sooner germinate and thereby smother the seeds of the less vigorous old herb. The new variety will spread, and in course of time exterminate the old vegetation as effectually as if they had been weeded out.

The old succulent herb gave nourishment to a certain species of herbivorous beasts. As soon as the new and tougher variety gains extension, the beasts will have to exert their jaws a little more, and only those having the strongest jawbones will be properly fed. The longing for more food of the weaker animals, the necessary exertion of the jaws and the superior breeding energy of the best fed beasts will soon work out a change in the coming generation of brutes. And a tougher plant also needs greater digesting powers. The small variation of the herb, therefore, will not only make the coming generations of beasts strong mouthed, but may also vary the saliva glands and the composition of the gastric juice. This again may change the process of secretion, and this finally induce variations in the form, fur, color, and the quality of the meat.

But the effect of the slight variation of the herb does not cease here. Suppose that a race of men lives off these beasts, and that in the course of time their meat becomes unpalatable. Imagine the changes this would produce in the mode of living!

This variation and the extermination of all that cannot adapt itself to the change, is Darwin's law of natural selection.

CHAPTER IX.—ORGANIZATION.

Change is the law of life. Nature, so beautiful, is but the result of constantly working influences, affecting change. We look at the planets, the animals and the face of men, and admire their adaptation to the surrounding circumstances. Noticing only the results, but not the hidden, slowly-working causes, we are apt to ascribe them to a mysterious providence. But the careful examiner, noting the constant destruction of ill-adapted organic forms, will soon be convinced that this seemingly beautiful adaptation is but the result of natural causes. The slightest incident might induce changes and deliver multitudes of living germs to a premature death.

Nothing is perfect; it only seems so. This is proved by the existence of rudimentary organs, which even men possess. So has the embryo whale teeth; unborn calves have teeth in their upper jaws, which never cut through. Some birds and insects have wings, which they cannot use, and many other instances more. If an all-wise, all-perfect Providence would have created them, why these useless appendages? If the organisms are the result of adaptations, their presence is naturally accounted for.

CHAPTER X.—THE EGG.

Unity seems the law of creation; at least all organisms correspond to it. Their beginning rests in the formation of a peculiar albuminous substance termed protoplasm. That substance is apt to be developed, and so the first systems of life can be traced in it. It assimilates congenital substances, increases and multiplies by division. In further development, a spot hardens in it and is enveloped by a delicate membrane, like within a bag. That bag is a cell. Soon the bag divides into two; they into four, and so on, until a cluster of cells is formed. The cell membrane is porous. Through it, a penetrating into and an oozing out of substance occurs, and a certain manifestation of minute forces becomes recognizable. The aggregate of these minute cellular actions and forces is the phenomenon of life.

The cell-cluster in its further development flattens and ultimately changes into the embryo. If by circumstances the regular course of the grouping of cells is altered, a monstrosity will occur. If the protoplasm have a peculiar chemical or organic taint, then the cells will receive that taint, and thereby work out certain results in the finished organism.

All organisms begin alike. The tiny cell may either develop into a plant or an animal. At a certain stage of development, there is no distinction between the embryos of reptiles, birds, mammals, or man.

And it is now established beyond cavil, that the embryonic development is but a miniature of the development which the organisms have undergone during uncountable ages.

Man is pre-eminently animal, and only his goodness and truthfulness will elevate him above the beasts.

CHAPTER XI.—PARENT AND CHILD.

The author has endeavored to delineate the outlines of rational science. It may help to show that man must look into himself for his salvation. Observations and all scientific investigations tend to show that we human beings are but the offsprings of natural conditions. And although our thoughts may elevate us seemingly into a spiritual realm; we are and will remain in mind and body but earthly organisms, subject to all influences which govern the so-called lower creation.

And here it may be well to direct the attention of parents to the fact, that they themselves, and not God, create their children. That peculiar albuminous substance we spoke of in the last chapter is the nursery of men and women. Let this be tainted, and the taint, good or bad, will be transmitted to the offsprings, and either result in perfection or deformities. Let the parents be exhausted and the children will show it. Thoughts, longings, feelings, disposition of character, intemperance, dissipation and many other, sometimes seemingly insignificant causes. Even the degree of love parents bear towards each other, tends to give the peculiar taint and thereby place the child either high up in the scale of men, or low down amongst the brutish creation. There is a nobility of birth and parents can bestow it upon their children.

CHAPTER XII.—CLOSING REMARKS.

Thoughts depend upon the brain structure and brain composition. And if it be true that both depend upon the percentage of phosphorized fat the brain contains; then, brains having the same percentage must have similar thoughts. This would naturally account for many so-called Spiritualistic marvels; for no matter how illiterate a person might be, if his brain-structure is the same as that of an ancient sage, his thoughts would remind on ancient wisdom.

There is nothing in our mind, which has not been converged there by our senses. All our knowledge is derived through expressions and reflections, either our own or that of our ancestors. The state of clairvoyance is but a state of superior sensibility, and constitutes no exception.

Theologians and Spiritualists believe it their duty to deny this; but they could not produce one single idea or knowledge, which is not reducible to sensuous impressions. There ex-

ists a vague instinctive knowledge of something in the mind of mankind, which like a seed-corn, will develop, if properly nourished in that which we have established as our principles of civilization. But this instinctive knowledge is accounted for by the brain development the child inherits, and which to the greatest part is the result of ages of civilizational development.

Our civilization is based upon a Spiritual God theory. Judging the theory by the fruits it bore, it seems that the same finds its only exponent in opposition, persecution and bloodshed. Would it not be time to try a different theory and to supplant the Spiritual by the Rational?

LABOR LYRIC.

Forward! Though the night be stormy;

And the path be strait and lone;

Onward, friends of man and labor,

Certain victory's our own;

Hoping—waiting—

Soon we'll hear Truth's trumpet tone.

Courage, toilers!—what though mamon

Long has ruled with iron hand;

Wringing labor, health and manhood,

From the workers of the land?

Morning dawning—

Right shall in the end command.

Fear not though affliction's furnace

Spread its flames on every side;

Dross and ore are now commingled,

'Tis by fire true metal's tried.

Raging—blazing—

That alone can them divide.

Courage, sisters! Faint and weary

O'er your hopeless tasks forlorn;

Patient hold the path of virtue,

Better want than guilt be born.

Watchful—cheerful—

After darkness comes the morn.

Though our masses, broken, jarring,

Many-voiced, like Babel, show:

Wisdom yet shall guide our counsels;

Order, out of chaos grow.

Thinking—striving—

Soon the better way we'll know.

Courage, children! He who loves you

Won't desert you in the war;

You, who know of life no morning,

Early chained to mamon's car.

Listen—hearken—

You can hear him from afar.

What though, 'mid our proper columns,

Sin and shame may still be found;

Though, unsanctified by sorrow,

Error oft with us abound;

Nathless—scathless—

Righteousness shall yet be crowned.

Courage, man! The shades are passing

Of a long and weary night;

Soon the sun will gild the mountains

And the world rejoice in light;

Beaming—gleaming—

From his eastern portal bright.

What though wealth, and pride, and power,

Seem to stand athwart our way;

Though the mighty head our foemen,

Cheerfully we'll join the fray.

Onward—forward—

"Equal Rights" will gain the day.

Yes! The world shall shine in splendor

Unknown, yes, although revealed;

When we make our "curse" our glory

And our sorrows is our shield.

Glorious future,

Then shall earth her increase yield,

*In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.

ONE TIME, ONE PRICE.—The daily *Witness*, of the 23d ult., discourses thus on the coming question of "Equal Compensation" for Human Labor advocated by the "Equal Rights" party:

THE HARSHIPS OF BAKERS.—Why is it that bakers, the men who supply the staff of life, should be about the worst used of all working-men? They have no Sabbath of rest; they have night work, and in most cases close and unwholesome cellars to work in, and they have less pay than other trades. This is not merely a local state of things; the same complaints occur, so far as we know, everywhere. An examination some years ago into the condition of journeyman bakers in London, England, revealed not only their very long hours and very inadequate remuneration, but the confined, filthy, and unwholesome condition of many bakeries in which the men slept as well as worked. We see, by a letter in a morning paper, that bakers in New York have to toil fifteen hours for \$12 to \$15 a week, whereas carpenters demand \$21 for eight hours, and bricklayers \$30. In the one case the average wages are \$14 for 90 hours, or about 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per hour, while carpenters have \$21 for 48 hours, or about 44 cents per hour, and bricklayers about 62 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per hour. Where is the equality here?

Our cotemporary is wrong in assuming that bakers are about the worst used of all working-men. Agricultural laborers, here, and in all civilized countries, have greater cause to complain even than bakers. We reproduce the above extract with satisfaction, feeling glad that we can endorse its statements. It is true the same paper has a leader condemning THE WEEKLY, but that we can afford to pass over in silence. Our duty is to return good for evil. We trust that we have done so in this particular, and consequently score "one" in the

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